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A

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

OF THE

REV. J. J. IG. DÖLLINGER, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY

IN THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH,

BY THE

REV. EDWARD COX, D.D.

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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

PERIOD THE THIRD.

FROM THE SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL TO GREGORY VII.—

FROM THE YEAR 680 TO 1073.*

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH: PROPAGATION
OF CHRISTIANITY.

SECT. I.—GERMANY: EAST FRANCE: FRIESLAND.—

ST. BONIFACE IN THURINGIA: HESSE: BAVARIA.—

CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS.†

IN the preceding Period, we beheld Christianity introduced into the south and west of Germany: in the

* The Byzantine Historians: Nicephorus, to 769; Theophanes, to 813; Constantine Porphyrogenita, to 886; Genesius, from 813 to 886; Gregorius Monachus, to 948; Simeon Metaphrastes, to 967; Leo Grammaticus, to 949; Cedrenus and Zonaras. Latins: Annales Laurissensis (Loiseliani), 741-829; Annales Einhardi, 741-829; Annales Fuldenses, 714-901; Bertiniani, 741-882, in the Monumenta Germaniæ Hist. ed. Pertz, tom. i. Hannover, 1826. Eginhardi, Vita Caroli Magni; Theganus, de Gestis Ludovici Pii; Astronomi, Vita Ludovici P. in Bouquet, Rerum Gall. et Franc. Scriptores, tom. v. vi.; Analista Saxo, (741-1139) in Eccardi, Corp. Hist. tom. i.; Reginonis, Abb. Prumiens, Chronicon to 908, and continued to 967, in Pistorii SS. edid. Struve; Luitprandi, Episcopi Cremon. Hist. Rerum suo tempore gestarum, (886-946) in Muratori SS. Ital. tom. ii.; Ditmari, Epis. Merseburg, Chronicon, (876-1028) ed. Wagner, Norimb. 1807, 4to.; Hermann Contracti, Monachi Angiens, Chronicon, to 1054, in Ussermann, Monument. res Alemannicus illustrant, tom. i. 1790; Lamberti Schafnaburgensis, Chronicon, tom. 1077, in Pistorius, tom. i.; Mariani Scoti, Monachi Fuldens, Chronica to 1083, and Sigeberti Gemblacensis, Chronicon, to 1112, in Pistorius.

† Vita S. Kiliani; Aribonis, Vita S. Corbiniani; Alcuini, Vita S.

present, we shall see it penetrating by degrees into the north and into the east, until, in the course of the eighth century, it arrives on the banks of the Elbe; and, in the ninth and tenth, visits the distant tribes of Scandinavia. Thus in this period is completed the conversion of the Germanic nations, and for the following period was reserved only the conversion of the tribes that dwelt between the Elbe and the Baltic Sea. The commencement was among the East Franks, who were then numbered amongst the Thuringians, and were subject to the dominion of the Austrasian sovereigns. The Irishman Chilian, accompanied by a priest named Coloman, and by a deacon named Totnan, obtained, at Rome, in 686, from pope Conon, full powers to labour in the conversion of these people, amongst whom there were indeed a few Christian families, the remnants of those who had been converted by the Thuringians. Chilian baptized the duke Gozbert, who resided at the castle of Wurzburg, and many of his subjects: but as he afterwards severely rebuked his illustrious convert for his marriage with the widow of his brother, he was slain, together with his companions, during the absence of the duke, at the instigation of the adultress. Christianity continued to advance, though slowly, under Hetan, the son of Gozbert.

About the same time, the Gospel was made known to the then powerful Frieslanders by the Anglo-Saxons, St. Wilfrid, bishop of York, and the monk Wigbert: but more fruits were gathered in this land by their countryman St. Willibrord, who had been educated in Ireland, and who, in 692, went to Rome, to receive his mission from the pope. He was consecrated by the pontiff; and, upon his return from Rome, laboured amongst the Frieslanders, who were subjected to the

Willibrordi; Willibaldi et Othlonis, Vita S. Bonifacii; Ægilis, Vita S. Sturmii;—all in Mabillon, Acta SS. O. S. Benedicti, tom. ii. iii.—Bonifacii Epistolæ, ed. Würdtwein, Mogunt. 1789, folio. For the Saxons, Einhardi Annales, and the Poeta Saxo, in Pertz, tom. i.; Capitulatio de Partibus Saxoniae, in Baluzii Capit. Regum Francorum

Franks ; and under the protection of the Austrasian major-domo Pepin, he founded at Wiltaburg (Ultra-jectum) the metropolitan church of Utrecht. His companion, Suidbert, preached at the same time in West Friesland. Contemporary with these holy missionaries was Wulfram, who, in 712, came as a messenger of salvation into the same country. He had persuaded the prince Radbod to receive baptism ; but when the prince had heard that his pagan ancestors could not be in the kingdom of heaven, he suddenly retired from the baptismal font. After the death of Radbod, in 719, the Frieslanders became every day more and more independant of the Franks ; and Willibrord, who had been carried by his zeal into Denmark, was thereby enabled to labour more freely in their conversion. He died in 739, after he had governed his new Church, as bishop, for forty years.

But all preceding missionaries who had preached the Gospel on the continent, were surpassed by the Anglo-Saxon Winfrid. He was born at Kirton, in Wessex, in the year 680 ; and by the extent and blessed effects of his labours, obtained for himself the name of the Apostle of Germany. Paganism was still spread over a great portion of the south of Germany : in the central provinces, it ruled alone. But the accounts of the nature of this German idolatry, which have remained to us, are few and defective. We know, however, that these pagan tribes, together with their worship in woods, under the sacred shade of trees, practised all the rites of idolatry also in temples. Different deities were honoured in different provinces ; but the worship of Wodan, the father of kings,—of Thunar, the god of thunder and of war,—of Hertha, the mother of the earth,—and of Thuisco, the father of all,—was almost universal. In woods and in sacred groves,—on the banks of rivers and at fountains,—sacrifices of animals and of men were offered. The future was explored by the casting of lots, by the examination of the entrails of victims, by the neighing of horses, or was learned from the oracles of the revered prophetesses Wellada,

Aurinia and Ganna. The priests, who formed no hereditary caste, were the chiefs of the people: they presided over all assemblies,—and, as the ministers of the gods, they decided on life and death. In domestic worship, the father of each family was priest.

Winfrid had already laboured in Friesland in 716, when, having resolved to dedicate his whole life to the conversion of idolaters, he journeyed to Rome in 718, recommended to Gregory II by Daniel, bishop of Winchester, to obtain from his holiness power to preach amongst the infidels. After a short time spent in Hesse, he returned, after the death of Radbod, into Friesland, where Willibrord wished to appoint him his successor; but as he had been destined by the pontiff to preach principally in eastern Germany, he again, in 722, visited Hesse. His first labour here was to purify Christianity from the many pagan rites with which it had been mingled: he then founded a monastery at Amöneburg, which was to be to him as a citadel of faith, and a school for his clergy. After he had baptized many thousands of the Hessians, he, in 723, again went to Rome. He was consecrated bishop by the pope, who, at his consecration, gave him the name of Boniface: he at the same time took an oath to the pope—a copy of which he wrote with his own hand, and laid upon the tombs of the apostles—that he would teach the pure Catholic faith, that he would preserve ecclesiastical unity, that he would defend the authority of the Holy See, and that he would not hold communion with bishops who acted against the ancient laws of the Church. His was restricted to no particular diocese. Provided with a copy of the canons, with relics, and with letters of recommendation to Charles Martel, to the bishops and nobles of France, to the Thuringians and Saxons, Boniface returned into Hesse. Under the protection of Charles Martel, without which his personal safety could not have been ensured, amidst the many opposing elements with which he had to contend, he carried on the work of conversion with rapidity and success. At Geismar, he cut down an

aged oak, which was sacred to Thor, and had hitherto been deemed inviolable,—from the wood of which he built a chapel in honour of St. Peter. From 725 he preached in Thuringia, defended by the nobles who were dependant on Charles Martel: here also he had to reform religion, which had been corrupted by an admixture of heathenism. He built a cloister at Ordruf, and now called to his assistance several fellow-labourers, male and female, from England. The new pope, Gregory III, by sending him the pallium, conferred upon him the dignity of metropolitan, that he might, when it should be expedient, consecrate other bishops.

In Bavaria, the Frank Corbinian, who had been sent thither as bishop by Gregory II, laboured successfully in the extirpation of the remains of idolatry; and, in 718, founded a church at Freising. In 732, Boniface arrived in this country, after he had founded the churches of Frisslar, Amöneburg, and Erfurt. Aided by the authority of Hugbert, the Bavarian duke, he degraded some unworthy priests; and when, in 739, he had returned from his third journey to Rome, he divided Bavaria, according to the plan which he had before presented to Gregory II, and which was now approved by the duke Odilo, into four dioceses—Salzburg, Ratisbon, Freising, and Passau: in these he placed bishops, who, in 740, held a Bavarian synod. The number of those whom Boniface had converted to the faith, out of Bavaria, amounted, according to his own account to the pope, to one hundred thousand. For their government, he erected the sees of Eichstadt, Wurzburg, and Buraburg in Hesse. These Churches were endowed by Carlmann, the son of Charles Martel, and governed by the Anglo-Saxon companions of Boniface. Wurzburg was held by Burchard, Eichstadt by Wilibald, and Buraburg by Witta. About the same time, Boniface held assemblies, at which several bishops and nobles were present;—two of these assemblies were held at Salzburg: in 743, he convened the Synod of Liptina (Lestines, in Hennegan), at which was presented a long catalogue of pagan abuses, which the

bishops, assisted by the nobles, resolved to destroy. Amongst these abuses, were the sale of Christian slaves to idolaters,—the burning or burying of the property, the horses, slaves, and wives of the dead,—sacrifices and feasts in honour of the dead,—the honour paid to Mercury and Jupiter (Wodan and Thor),—phylacteries and fillets, all kinds of augury and sorcery,—idols formed of baked bread,—the drawing of magic lines around their villages,—and many other similar rites of superstition. Here also was adopted the well-known formulas of faith and abjuration, by which the convert renounced “Thunaer, Wodan, the Saxon Odin, and all sorcerers, their associates.”

In 744, Boniface and Sturm, a Bavarian, a worthy disciple of his great master, founded the celebrated cloister of Fulda, in the solitude of Buchwald, between Thuringia and Hesse. Boniface had hitherto been without a diocese ; but, in 745, when Gewilieb, bishop of Metz, was deposed on account of a murder, he was called by an assembly of the nation to govern that Church, which was then raised to a metropolitan see : the holy bishop would have preferred Cologne, that he might be nearer to the Frieslanders. The pope Zachary, in 748, confirmed the new metropolitan rank of the Church of Mentz, and subjected to it the bishoprics of Utrecht, Tongres, Cologne, Worms, and Spire, and the newly converted provinces of Germany, with the exception of Bavaria. The bishopric of Buraburg ceased, after a short time, to exist, and Hesse was then united with the diocese of Mentz. Cologne, at the end of the century, was erected into an archiepiscopal see, and extended its jurisdiction over Utrecht, as its suffragan Church. He who, thirty years before, had left the confines of Friesland, after fruitless labour, and as a fugitive, was now an archbishop, the legate of the supreme pontiff over Gaul (Austrasia and Neustria), and the spiritual father of many nations. But his whole life had been one unbroken series of combat and of toil : demagogues and false teachers, such as Clement and Aldebert, opposed him in his career of merit,

and more than once was the holy Boniface doomed to experience that it was more difficult to reform turbulent priests and bishops, than to convert the barbarous pagans ; and yet, in his letter to pope Stephen II, in 755, he informed the pope that he was then employed in rebuilding churches, which had been destroyed more than thirty times by the infidels. Thus was Boniface supported by the popes, with whom he was in constant correspondence, and whose decisions he sought and followed in all difficulties,—alike great and revered as a preacher of the faith, as a founder of new churches and monasteries, and as the restorer of the deeply fallen discipline of the Church of France. A martyr's crown at length rewarded his toils. At an advanced age, and after he had consecrated his disciple Lullus as his successor at Mentz, he went again into Friesland, where, when he had baptized thousands, he was murdered, together with his companions, by the pagans, in the neighbourhood of Dorcum. The disciples whom he had formed, and in particular Sturm, Gregory, the abbot of Utrecht, and Burchard, bishop of Wurzburg, had imbibed his spirit, and continued to labour in it.

But idolatry still triumphed in the north of Germany. The powerful confederacy of the Saxons had hitherto defeated every attempt at their conversion : the heralds who had announced the faith to them were either slain, as were the two Ewalds, or driven from their territories. The Saxons, one of the three chief nations of the Germans, inhabited the country between the Baltic Sea and the confines of Thuringia and Hesse : to the west, between the Ems and the Issel, dwelt the Westphalians : between the Ems and the Weser were the Engi ; and to the east were the Eastphalians, bounded by the Elbe and the Trave, as far as Saale and Unstrut. Without cities and without kings, these people lived divided into three classes—the nobles, the free men, and the populace, under chosen leaders and judges : their residences were huts and hovels. They offered human sacrifices to their Gods in great number,—for every tenth man of the prisoners taken in war, was

reserved as a victim. In their hatred of the Christian religion and of the Christian Franks, they ceased not in their predatory incursions into the open territories of their neighbours; they destroyed all the churches which they found on their march, and thus compelled the Franks to wage against them a war of subjugation. This, which was a religious war, was necessarily accompanied by the compulsory conversion of many of the Saxons: their political constitution, with which paganism was most intricately blended, was destroyed; but they continued to be a hostile and a dangerous people, who gladly profited by every calamity and commotion of the Franks, to wreak a deadly revenge upon their conquerors. The war between the Franks and the Saxons had now lasted many years, when Charlemagne, —who, besides the motive of extending and protecting the Church, had the desire also of uniting, by the subjugation of the Saxons, all the provinces of Germany under his own dominion,—in 772, recommenced hostilities, which he continued, without interruption, for thirty years. At the very beginning of his campaign, the pillars of Irmen, the sanctuary of the Saxons, were destroyed: in 776, many, yielding to the power of Charles, were baptized; but scarcely had he turned his back, when the priests, the monks, and all the Franks who remained, were driven from the country, and the cross was thrown to the earth. To secure the building of churches and the maintenance of the clergy in the subdued provinces, the Saxons were compelled, after 779, to pay the tithes of their possessions. This they considered an intolerable oppression, and it served only to enflame the more violently their hatred against the foreign priests and their protector. It was in vain that Alcuin, the friend of Charles, counselled him to relieve them from this burden; he imagined, that in lands where he possessed nothing, churches and their clergy could be supported only by tithes. In a new insurrection in 782, the churches were destroyed, and the ecclesiastics who could not escape were slain. But the victorious arms of Charles again enforced sub-

jection: the Saxon chieftains, Wittekind and Alboin, were baptized in 785, at Attigny; many of the nobles followed their example, and the Christian priests were now enabled to labour unmolested and effectually in the conversion of the people. Partial insurrections in 793, occasioned chiefly by the oppressions of the army of the Franks and of the tithes, induced Charles to remove a portion of the inhabitants to other countries: the Northalbingian Saxons, who were situate on the remote banks of the Elbe, in the present Holstein, were the last who continued the strife. At length Charles consented, at the diet of Salz, in East France, that the Saxons should be considered equal in rights and privileges to the Franks, and that they should live according to their own laws, upon the condition that they entirely renounced idolatry, and contributed in the same manner as the Franks to the support of the bishops and clergy. The Saxons now suffered their children to be baptized, and complied with the duties of the Church, although many remained, in secret, still attached to their pagan ideas and pagan rites. The laws contained in the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxonix*, would prevent them from returning again to idolatry, and would ensure a respect, externally at least, for the preachers of the Gospel. These laws were in part very severe. The punishment of death was inflicted on the refusal of baptism, on the heathen practice of burning the dead, and on the violation of the days of fasting: only confession, or the acceptance of penance, could save those who had offended. Other pagan customs were punished by fines: to render the churches more venerable, the right of asylum was given to them. Between the years 780 and 814, the ecclesiastical division of Saxony was completed; the former missionary stations were converted into firmly established bishoprics. The first change was at Osnaburg, of which the first bishop was Wiho, a disciple of St. Boniface. Paderborn, which had been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Wurzburg, received, as its bishop, in 795, the Saxon Hathumar, a priest of Wurzburg. The Anglo-Saxon

Willehad, a name that deserved well of religion in Saxony, was the first bishop of Bremen : at Mimegardeford, (Munster) the Frieslander Ludger was consecrated bishop, in 802. The sees of Verden, Minden, and Seligenstadt, (afterwards transferred to Halberstadt) were founded under Charlemagne ; and under Lewis the Pious arose the celebrated cloister of New-Corvey, and the church of Hildesheim.

SECTION II.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE—IN DENMARK, NORWAY, SWEDEN, AND ICELAND.*

THE inhabitants of the Scandinavian North, that is, of the Cimbrian and Scandinavian peninsulas, and of the islands that lay between them, were originally a people connected by language, religion and customs, with the extensive family of the Germans. But the Swedes, the Danes, and the Normans, continued for a long time to exist as different nations, distinct from each other, in small kingdoms or confederacies, and under kings, whose power was confined within narrow limits. The Gods that they adored were, Thor, the God of thunder, represented with his hammer ; Odin, the father of Gods and of men, to whom all the regal families of the north traced their descent, the creator of the world ; and his daughter Freya, the earth. After these deities they revered the twelve divine Ases, the first priests, judges,

* *Adami Bremensis, Historia Ecclesiastica*, (to 1076) ed. Fabricius, Hamburg, 1706, fol. ; *Remberti, Vita S. Anscharii*, in *Pertz Monumenta*, tom. ii. ; *Saxonis Grammatici, Historia Danica*, ed. Klotz, Lipsiæ, 1771, 4to. ; *Kristni-Saga*, that is, *Historia Relig. Christianæ in Islandia* introduc. Hafniæ, 1778 ; *Snorro Sturleson, Heimskringla Saga*, ed. Schœning, Hafniæ, 1777, 5 vols. folio.

Münter, *Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark und Norwegen*, (Church History of Denmark and Sweden) Leipzig, 1825 ; Claud. Oernhialm, *Historia Sueonum Gothorumque Ecclesiastica*, Stockholm, 1689, 4to. ; Finni Johannæi, *Historia Eccles. Islandiæ*, Hafniæ, 1772, 3 vols. 4to.

and legislators amongst men. They believed the immortality of the human soul; great criminals were punished after death in Niflheim; the inglorious dead were doomed to languish in the dark halls of Hela, whilst those who had fallen in battle were conducted to Walhalla, where, in the society of the Gods, they continued the occupations of their former lives, war and drinking.

The Gods, in the beginning of their existence, had fallen in combat with the powers of the deep (the rebel powers of nature), and the world had been destroyed in flames. A new earth then arose, upon which a new generation of men was brought into existence, and lived under the protection of the Gods and Ases, who returned in part again to power. In the temples of the north, which were not numerous, these Gods were represented by figures, often of a colossal size. To these, sacrifices of animals and of men were offered: the human victims were chiefly criminals and captives, but sometimes, to appease the Gods, free men and even kings were sacrificed. Magic was practised to a great extent. The priests and priestesses were often chosen from the most noble families of the nation: some of them were revered as incarnations of the Gods; but not only they, the kings and earls sometimes offered sacrifice, and in each family the father acted as priest. The heathenish baptism of children, and the hammer of Thor, which was like to a cross, and with which food and drink were signed, formed points of external similarity to the Christian religion. Females were respected and possessed great influence; polygamy was permitted, but not frequently: concubines, however, were numerous. The exposing, and even the murder of infants, was an ordinary practice. The unhappy slaves were deprived of all civil rights, and subjected to the capricious severity of their cruel masters. Revenge, even to blood, was considered the most sacred of all duties, which brought with it as necessary consequences, innumerable and endless family feuds. Unconquerable obstinacy, and a cool contempt of death, severity and cruelty to-

wards each other, were the strongest traits in the character of the Scandinavian people, and were powerfully increased by the religion of Odin. Death was courted on the battle-field, and if not met, was too often found in self-murder. The ambition to enter Walhalla with treasures of wealth, impelled the Scandinavians forward to plunder on land and to piracy on sea. Their expeditions of plunder were so frequent in the ninth century, that France, Germany, and the British Islands, were often laid waste beneath them. They gave the nature of savages to the Normans, who now added the traffic of human beings to their deeds of rapine. Hence it will be seen, how great were the obstacles with which Christianity had to contend, both in the prevailing sentiments and customs of the people, and in their deeply-rooted propensities to the idolatry of Odin.

After the fruitless attempt of St. Willibrord in Jutland and in Schleswig, Willehad, who was afterwards the first bishop of Bremen, preached in 780 to the Dithmarsers: his companion, Atreban, was martyred in 782. The first Christian community in Heligoland was founded by Ludger, afterwards bishop of Munster. After the conquest of Saxony, the communications between the Franks and the Danes became more frequent; and in 822, Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims went, with the monk Halitgar, as ambassador from the emperor and as a preacher of the Gospel, to king Harold. This king visited the emperor in 826, at Ingelheim, to implore his assistance in war: he and his attendants were then baptised, and upon his return to his native land he was accompanied by the monk Anschar, who, in 823, began to preach at Corvey on the Weser. Anschar and his companion Autbert, erected a school at Hadeley for redeemed captive youths, whom they employed as assistants on their missions. But this happy beginning was interrupted by the expulsion of Harold from his kingdom in 828: Autbert died in 829, and in 830 Anschar went into Sweden. The emperor Lewis carried into execution a design of his father, by founding

a new archbishopric at the point where Hamburg now stands, as a centre for the missions of the north. Anschar, although only twenty-nine years of age, was the first archbishop, and was with Ebbo, papal legate for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden: but there was yet in Northalbingia, in Jutland, and in the other parts of the north, only few Christians, and Eric, the chief king of Jutland, did all in his power to extirpate Christianity. In 845 he destroyed Hamburg and scattered the flock, part of which he led away into captivity, and part of which he slew. But no evils could subdue the persevering spirit of Anschar, although the loss of the cloister at Turholt, which he had destined for a missionary seminary, was now added to his other afflictions. In 580 his condition was improved by the union, confirmed by pope Nicholas I, of the see of Bremen with Hamburg. As ambassador of the German king, he gained the confidence of Eric; he built a church at Schleswig, and baptised many of the pagans. But the idolatrous subjects of Eric rebelled against him, and in 854 he fell fighting in battle against them. Christianity was again oppressed, and the church at Hadeley was closed, until Eric II shewed a more kindly feeling to the Christian religion. Anschar then obtained for the Christians the free exercise of their religion, and erected a church at Ribe. In 865 this apostle of the northern nations died. He had taught his disciples, whom he sent forth as missionaries, to live by the labour of their own hands: he was accustomed himself to weave nets, but as archbishop, he observed strictly the rules of his order. He redeemed many captives, and founded many hospitals and cloisters; he banished the traffic in slaves from amongst the Northalbingians, and as he imposed the severest restrictions upon himself, he was able to maintain many priests, and to make rich presents to powerful heathens. He was in every respect one of the greatest and most holy men of his time, and worthy to be ranked with St. Patrick, St. Boniface, and St. Francis Xavier.

The successor of Anschar in the united churches of

Hamburg and Bremen, was his disciple and biographer, Rembert, who continued to labour with all the apostolic spirit of his great prototype. But unhappy times succeeded. The Jutland king, Eric III, a bitter enemy of the Christian name, in 880 destroyed the churches in Northalbingia, and defeated the Saxons in a great battle. From that time Germany also was doomed to become the scene of Norman depredations: the ruins of the churches and monasteries marked the march of the invaders, and the barbarous massacre of many ecclesiastics too plainly told their pagan hostility to Christianity. Gorm, the old king of Lithra in Zealand, who became in 900 chieftain of the Danish tribes, began, in 915, to persecute the Christians. Hamburg was for a third time laid waste: many of the clergy suffered the most cruel tortures, whilst others saved their lives by flight: the churches at Schleswig, Aarhus, and Ribe, were reduced to ashes. But in 934, the German king, Henry, restored Christianity, and South Jutland became the dwelling-place of many Saxon hermits. Unni, the archbishop of Hamburg, baptised the king Frode, restored the churches, and preached upon the islands. The long reign of Harold, from 941 to 991, was favourable to the cause of religion. The archbishop, Adalbad, consecrated the first bishops for Schleswig, Aarhus, and Ribe. Leofday, the bishop of Ribe, was in a short time slain by the infidels. Harold was conquered, in 972, by Otho I, and was baptised: from that time his chief labour was to accelerate the propagation of Christianity. His zeal, however, caused a reaction of the still powerful party of infidels, headed by his faithless son, Sweno Tueskiay. Palnatoke, the founder of a republic of pirates at Jomsburg, on the Selavonian coast, which served also as a place of refuge for the most violent of the infidels, slew Harold in 991. Still was paganism triumphant on the islands, although a bishopric had been founded at Odense on Fuhnen, and a church at Roschild, near the sacred grove of Lethra. By the union of England, which had been conquered by Sweno, with Denmark, the complete introduction of

Christianity into the latter country was greatly facilitated. Canute the Great, who governed England and Denmark from 1014 to 1035, to whom his dying father, Sweno, earnestly recommended the cause of religion, laboured much in its propagation. In 1026 he travelled as a penitent pilgrim to Rome, where he founded an hospital for Danes : he sent several English priests into Denmark : he established the first cloisters in the country, and promoted the erection of churches : he gave a bishop to Zealand, and as Schonen had before possessed a bishop, the whole of Denmark was now divided under an ecclesiastical government ; but the bishoprics founded by Sweno, of Lund in Schonen, and of Borglum and Viborg in Jutland, were not united to them before the year 1065. At the death of Canute, all his Danish subjects were, externally at least, Christians. The Frieslanders, on the coast of Schleswig, continued in their idolatry as late as the twelfth century ; in North Jutland, and in Schonen also, paganism still maintained itself in part for a long time.

In Norway, as in Denmark, Christianity was introduced by the kings. Hakon the Good, the son of king Harold Harfagr, who first instituted the regal dignity in his kingdom, had become, whilst the foster son of the Anglo-Saxon king Athelstan, a most zealous Christian. He called into his kingdom some English priests, and built several churches : but when, at an assembly of the nation in 940, he proposed to the people the introduction of Christianity, the multitude rose against him, and menaced him with the threat of electing for themselves another king. He was himself compelled to eat of the flesh of a sacrificed horse, and to taste of a drink which had been made sacred to Odin, Thor, and Bragi. He at first endeavoured to deprive these things of their pagan consecration, by making over them the sign of the cross, which the Jarl Sigurd shewed to the people as the hammer of Thor ; but this was not permitted to him. The churches at Möre were then destroyed ; the English priests were murdered ; Hakon himself began to mingle pagan with

Christian rites, and confessed upon his death-bed, but with sincere repentance, that he had lived more like an idolater than a Christian. Harold Grafeld, who reigned from 963 to 967, sought to propagate Christianity by violence; but under Hakon Jarl, who had offered his own son in sacrifice, idolatry was again completely victorious. Hakon was indeed induced to receive baptism at the court of Otho III; but from the time of his return to his kingdom until the day of his death, in 995, he ceased not to persecute Christianity with the most deadly hate. But, on the other hand, Olaf, who had embraced Christianity in England, laboured with untiring zeal firmly to establish his religion: instruction and persuasion, presents and violent compulsion, and even executions, were employed, to effect his purpose. He broke down the strong opposition that was raised against him, particularly in his northern provinces: he demonstrated to the people the impotency of their idols, by breaking them in pieces; and at the time of his death, in 1000, when, overpowered by his enemies, he plunged into the sea, he had brought at least one-half of the Normans to the knowledge of Christianity. The two Jarls, who governed Norway as viceroys of the king of Denmark and Sweden, granted freedom of religion to the Christians; and the conversion of the country was completed by Olaf the Holy (1019-1033), a grand nephew of Harold Harfagr,—a youthful prince, as brave as he was magnanimous and zealous for religion. With the assistance of English and German priests, the latter of whom were sent to him by Unwan, archbishop of Bremen, who had been invested by the pope with metropolitan authority over Norway, the king instituted the ecclesiastical government of his nation: he built the church of St. Clement at Nidaros (Drontheim), afterwards the most splendid monument of architecture in the North; he caused his subjects to swear to a code of Christian laws, formed by the bishop Grinckel and the priests of his court; he everywhere established schools, and did all in his power effectually to extirpate

idolatry. Although he declared that a compulsory conversion to the Christian faith could not be pleasing to God, he sometimes exercised great severity against obstinate infidels, and more particularly against apostates. The conversion of the people was greatly facilitated by an event which occurred at a numerous assembly. At the command of Olaf, a colossal wooden figure of the God Thor was broken in pieces,—when a number of rats, of mice, and of toads, which had hitherto subsisted on the food which had been offered to the idol, ran from the dwellings which they had made for themselves within it. Olaf fell in battle against a party of his subjects who were still inclined to paganism, and who had united with the Danes against him. He was honoured after his death as a saint, and his tomb at Nidaros became a favourite resort of devout pilgrims. The four Norwegian sees,—the archbishopric of Nidaros, and the three bishoprics of Bergen, Hammer, and Stavanger, formed themselves by degrees; when the bishops, who had laboured as missionaries, without any distinct dioceses, settled in the principal cities.

In Sweden, although Christianity had been known there at a more early period than in Norway, it began to flourish later than in the other countries of the North. After the subjugation of the Finns, the country was inhabited by two tribes,—by the Swedes in the north, and in the south by the Goths: amongst those who dwelt upon the lake of Malar, were the sanctuary of Sigtuna, and Upsala, the metropolis of idolatry for the whole of the Scandinavian North. Numerous Christian captives, who had been carried into the country, had awakened amongst the inhabitants a desire to be made acquainted with their religion; and an embassy was therefore sent by them to Lewis the Pious, to request of him to send to them preachers of the faith. Anschar followed this call in 830: he remained in the country one year, and in 853 returned to it again. By a decree of the assembly of the people, the introduction of the new religion was submitted to the

decision of an oracle of the Gods ; and as the answer was favourable, Anschar received permission to erect a church, and to call other ecclesiastics to his assistance. But after his death, in 865, no missionary visited the country for seventy years, if we except Adelwart, a monk of Corvey, who was sent thither by the archbishop Rembert. The first who again commenced the work of conversion, was Unni, archbishop of Bremen, who laboured for a short time in Birka. About the year 1000, the Swedish king Olof received baptism from Siegfried, an English priest, who, after Anschar, might be called the Apostle of Sweden, to the conversion of which he consecrated his whole life. Olof would no longer be named the Upsala king, as by this name he was designated, as chief of the pagan sacrifices : he henceforth took the title of king of the Swedes. At Skara, in West Gothland, he founded the first bishopric, and, in a short time, the see of Linköping. It appears that the Christian faith was propagated for a long time only in this region, for the heathens would grant to Olof only one province for the exercise of the new religion : he selected West Gothland. In Upper Sweden, paganism still prevailed ; but a decree of an assembly of the people declared the practice of either religion to be in conformity with the law. When the bishops Adelward of Skara, and Egino of Lund, in 1063, prompted king Stenkil to destroy the ancient temple of the idols at Upsala, he replied, that such an attempt would cost them their lives, and him his crown. Under the Goths, the destruction of the idols met with no opposition. During the civil wars, which began in 1066, the Christians were for a long time oppressed ; and it is narrated that, through fear of the persecution, no bishop dared to visit Sweden. Several English priests, who, at this period and some years later, entered this country to preach the Gospel, were nearly all crowned with the glory of martyrs. When king Inge, the son of Stenkil, endeavoured to induce the people to forsake idolatry, and to receive baptism, he was driven from his kingdom, and his

cousin, the pagan Svend, was raised to the throne. But after three years, Inge returned victorious : he again established Christianity,—and, with the aid of the Christian Danes, subdued the discontent of the infidel Upper Swedes. Under king Swerker, (1133-1155) the first cloisters were founded by French monks, who had been sent by St. Bernard ; and under Eric (1155-1161), the successor of Swerker, Christianity was firmly established in Upper Sweden. The church of Upsal was now completed ; and Henry, the apostle of the Finns, was its first bishop. In 1163, this church was raised by the pope to the rank of metropolitan, and it had for its suffragan churches the bishoprics of Skara, Linkoping, Strengnas, Westeras,—and later, Wexio and Abo.

Iceland was discovered in 861 by the Norwegians, who peopled it in 870, and founded there a free state, which, until the end of the thirteenth century, was the chief seat of the north German education and literature. Tidings of Christianity had been announced to the inhabitants in 981, by Friedric, a Saxon priest,—but his labour was without fruit : no greater success attended the preaching of the messengers of the faith, Steffner an Icelander, and Thaugbrand a Saxon, who were sent by Olaf the son of Trygwe. But the close connexion of Iceland with Norway increased by degrees the numbers of its Christians ; and, in the year 1000, Christianity was introduced into the island, at the proposal of the Lagmann Thorgeir, in such a manner that all the Icelanders were baptized, the temples and idols were destroyed, and public sacrifices abolished ; but private sacrifices were still practised by some, and the usages of eating the flesh of horses, and of exposing children, were still continued,—the two last customs on account of the superabundant population of this unfruitful island. A deputation from Olaf the Holy, in 1016, endeavoured to persuade the Lagmann Skepto to prevent these revolting practices ; but time and prudence were required. English, Irish, and Saxon priests and bishops, without dioceses, laboured on the

island, until Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, in 1056, consecrated Isleif first bishop of Scalholt.

The islands of Faro, which had also been colonized by the Norwegians, received the faith from the chieftain Sigimund Brastesen, who had been converted in Norway by Olaf the son of Trygwe, and who returned to his native land with a priest: in 1150, these islands possessed a bishop, who was suffragan to the archbishop of Nidaros. The same Olaf led to Christianity the Norwegian inhabitants of the Orcades, and of the Shetland Islands;—it was preserved by their connexion with Scotland: the series of the bishops of these islands commenced in 1136. In the Icelandic and Norwegian colonies in Greenland, Christianity was introduced without difficulty: in 1055, Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, sent Albert, as bishop, into Greenland.

Amongst the Scandinavians who formed settlements in Christian countries, the Christian religion found an easier access than amongst those who remained in their native land. Their devotedness to paganism was weakened, as it had before been in the wandering tribes of the Germans, by their distance from the sacred cities of their homes, and by the sight, in their new territories, of a firmly-founded Church, and of a well-regulated worship. Thus the Normans who established themselves in Dublin, in 948, were soon converted to Christianity. The many Danes who came into England, were brought into the Church principally by the exertions of Canute the Great. The mighty Norman chieftain Rollo, who, from the year 876, was the terror of France, pledged himself, at the treaty of the Epte, in 912, to embrace the Christian faith: he received in return, on the north-west of France, the country between the Epte and the sea, known afterwards as the dukedom of Normandy. The greater part of his Normans were baptized with him: he, the duke, who was now named Robert, wore his white garments for seven days, and distinguished each day by rich donatives to churches. The ruined churches were rebuilt and enlarged; cloisters were erected, and

the population was increased by the arrival of other Normans, and of numbers of the Franks. Thus, under the no less wise than powerful reign of Robert, this desolated land was made to rival the most fruitful provinces of France. Those who continued to come from the North, embraced Christianity; or if they persevered in their idolatry, they were compelled to leave the shore, as were the Danes who came to the assistance of duke Richard I, and whom he caused to be transported to Spain.

SECTION III.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONGST THE SOUTH-EASTERN SCLAVONIANS: AMONGST THE MORAVIANS, BOHEMIANS, AND POLES: AMONGST THE SCLAVONIANS ON THE NORTH-EAST OF GERMANY, AND AMONGST THE RUSSIANS.*

IN the east of Europe, from the Elbe to the Don, and from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea, dwelt the tribes of the great Sclavonian family,—a name which, after the seventh century, was employed as the generic dis-

* Anonymi (a priest of Salzburg, towards the end of ninth century), de Conversione Bojariorum et Carentanorum, in Oefele, *Script. Rerum Boic.* i. 280; and Kleinmayern's *Nachrichten von Juvavia*, Salzburg, 1784, folio, Appendix, p. 10; *Vita Constantini (Cyrilli)*, by a Contemporary, in the *Acta SS. Mart.* ii. 19; *Presbyteri Diocleatis* (about 1161) *Regnum Slavorum*, in Schwandtner, *Scriptor. Rerum Hungaric.* iii. 474; *Cosmas Pragensis* (1125), *Chronicon Bohemorum*, in Pelzel and Dobrowsky, *Scriptor. Rerum Bohem.* tom. i. Pragæ, 1784; *Vita S. Ludmillæ* (997) and *Christanni de Scala*, *Vita S. Ludmillæ et Wenceslai*, in *Actis SS. Septembr.* v. 825; Hemoldi, *Presbyt. Bosov.* (1170) *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. Bangert, Lubecæ, 1659, 4to.; Martini Galli et Vincentii Kadlubkonis, *Historia Polonica*, Gedan. 1749, fol.; Nestor's (1123) *Annals*, translated into German by Schlösser, Göttingen, 1802, 5 vols.

J. S. Assemani, *Calendaria Ecclesiæ Univ. Romæ*, 1750, tom. i.-v.; J. Dobrowsky, *Cyrill und Method der Slaven Apostel*, Prag, 1823; the same, *Mährische Legende von Cyrill und Method*, Prag, 1826; Strahl's *Geschichte der Russischen Kirche*, Halle, 1830.

tinctive appellation of a people. In later times, they took possession of the countries that had been left unpeopled by the great emigration of the Germans, on the Elbe, the Oder, the Vistula, and on the middle Danube. In the reign of Heraclius, they possessed Illyricum, Istria, Friuli, Carnia, and Carinthia; twice, in 550 and in 746, they extended their incursions into Greece, as far as the Peloponesus. The uniformity in language, religion, and customs of these people, bespeak their common origin. The Slavonian doctrine of the Deity was dualistic. They had their white and black, or good and evil Gods, whom they named Belbog and Zernebog. A supreme God, the father of all other Gods, was believed to exist; and it is probable that the triple-headed Triglav, at Stettin and Julin, was a representation of this imaginary God. The universally honoured Swantewits, a four-headed giant idol, was adored in the temple at Arcona, on the island of Rugen; Radegast, the God of war, was adored at Rhetra; and Perun, the God of thunder, was honoured by the Russians and Moravians. The idols of the Gods with many and different heads and faces, were peculiar to the Slavonians. Magic was a necessary consequence of the belief of good and evil Gods. The priests were, at least amongst some of the Slavonians, greatly honoured, and possessed great influence: the chief priest at Arcona was the ruler of his people. Human sacrifices were frequent. The respect paid by the Germans to females, was unknown to the Slavonians. Amongst them, the wife was no more than the servant of the man; often was she doomed to follow him in death,—to throw herself into the flames which consumed his corpse. Mothers were at liberty to murder their infant daughters.

The first of the Scandinavians who embraced the Christian religion, were the Croats, who, in the reign of the emperor Heraclius, emigrated from Poland or Southern Russia, and settled on the lands between the Adriatic, the Danube, and Save. Porga, the prince of this nation, requested the emperor Constantine Pago-

natus to send Christian missionaries to instruct his people in the faith : the emperor directed him to Rome ; and the priests who were sent by the pope baptized, in 670, the prince, and many of his people. The pontiff then took their country under the immediate protection of the Apostolic See, and obliged the natives to abstain from rapine and predatory warfare. Croatian bishops are first mentioned in the year 879. The Servians, who inhabited a part of the ancient Dacia, Dardania, Dalmatia, and the sea-coast of Albania as far as Durazza, and were subject to the power of Constantinople, were induced by Heraclius to receive baptism, almost immediately after they had taken possession of these countries. But in the year 827, they threw off all subjection to the empire of the Greeks ; they expelled their Christian instructors, and restored idolatry, till the year 868, when they submitted to the emperor Basil, and again embraced Christianity.

The Carantani, who, between the years 612 and 630, migrated into Carinthia, Carnia, and Steyermark, were converted to Christianity during the eighth century, by their communication with Bavaria and Salzburg, and by their dependance on the power of Gaul. Their chieftain Boruth had permitted his son Carost, and his nephew Chetumar, to be educated in Bavaria in the Christian religion. Both these young princes succeeded Boruth, after the year 762. At the request of the latter, who had subjected himself and his people to the church of Salzburg, Virgilius, the bishop of that see, sent into Carinthia Modestus, a bishop, and several priests, amongst whom was Majoran, a nephew of Chetumar. In 800, Arno, bishop of Salzburg, commissioned the bishop Dietrich to labour in this country, and amongst the neighbouring Sclavonians. In 810, a contest arose between Arno, and Ursus, patriarch of Aquileia, as to the jurisdiction over Carinthia ; but it was terminated by Charlemagne, who decreed that the river Drave should form the boundary of their respective sees. Adalwin, archbishop of Salzburg, in 870, subjected Carinthia, which had been hitherto governed

by regionary bishops, (*episcopi regionarii*, *vicars*) to his own immediate jurisdiction.

The Slavonians who inhabited Dacia, Dalmatia, and Illyricum, were converted in part, first by Latin, and later, in 870, by Greek missionaries, who were sent to them by the emperor Basil; about the same time also were converted the Slavonians who had penetrated into Hellas and the Peloponesus. The Mainotes, who dwelt in the rocky pass of Taygetes, and who were descendants of the ancient Greeks, now at length resigned their obstinate adherence to idolatry.

The Moravians, a Slavonian tribe, who had entered into the ancient territory of the Quadi about the year 534, and who derived their name from the river Marave, were first made acquainted with Christianity by the arrival amongst them of priests who had been sent by Virgilius and Arno, bishops of Salzburg, at the command of Charlemagne, and by the preaching of Urolf, bishop of Passau, who visited them at the beginning of the ninth century. Urolf sent an account of his mission to the pope, who conferred upon him the archbishopric of Laureacum, now restored in 824, and attached to it four suffragan churches, two of which were in Moravia: but either this design was never carried into effect, or these bishoprics, as well as the metropolitan see, again soon fell away,—for, after the death of Urolf, we hear no more of the archbishop of Laureacum, but only of the bishop of Passau. During the reign of Lewis the Pious, the Moravian princes Maymar and Priwina had already embraced the faith, when Ratislav obtained from the Greek emperor Michael, Cyril (Constantine), and Methodius, the apostle of the Chazari and Bulgarians. They arrived in Moravia in 861; for four years and a half, they laboured with the most happy success. They introduced the alphabet of the ancient Slavonian, which Cyril had invented, and the use of the liturgy in the Slavonian language. Methodius was called to Rome by pope Adrian II, in 868 (Cyril had retired into a monastery); and having been consecrated bishop, he returned to the Slavonians as

metropolitan of Pannonia and Moravia, but without any fixed see. He now translated the Scriptures into the Slavonian tongue. When Methodius found himself impeded in his labours by the political troubles in Moravia, he retired into Pannonia, which was then subject to Moravia: he took with him some priests of the diocese of Salzburg, who, being displeased with him and his Slavonian liturgy, laid suspicions of his orthodoxy before the pope. But Methodius defended himself at Rome, in 879; and moreover obtained from John VIII an approbation of the liturgy, although the pontiff at first required that the sacrifice of the mass should be offered in one of the languages of the Church—the Greek or Latin. Methodius returned from Rome in 880, with full jurisdiction over all the clergy in the Moravian territories, and also over Wichin, bishop of Neitra: but he did not long survive;—he went again to Rome, where he died. The Moravian prince Moy-mar, who, on account of his wars with the Germans, was unwilling to submit to any ecclesiastical jurisdiction springing from them, obtained from the pope John IX a grant, by which Moravia, which comprised Bohemia and a part of Pannonia, was henceforth to form a Church independent of the Church of Germany, with an archbishop and two suffragans. This act called forth complaints, in the year 900, from the archbishops of Mentz and Salzburg, and of their suffragans: it was a violation, they maintained, of the rights of the bishop of Passau. But in 908 the kingdom of Moravia ceased to exist; its lands were laid waste by the Hungarians. Moravia proper became a province of Bohemia, and for thirty years we find no trace of a Moravian bishop. In 973, and again, after a short interruption, in 981, Moravia was united to the bishopric of Prague, until 1062, when an episcopal see was founded at Olmutz.

From Moravia, Christianity gained an easy entrance into its dependant province of Bohemia. The Bohemian duke Borziewog was baptized in 870, at the court of the Moravian prince Swatopluc, by Methodius: his wife Ludwilla was soon after baptized, and was most

fervent in her belief and practice of Christianity. Their two sons also became sincere Christians, and were earnest in their labours to propagate the faith amongst the Bohemians. The duke Spetignew exerted himself in the work of conversion, to the time of his death in 915; but after the death of his brother Wratislaus, his widow Drahomira did all in her power to eradicate Christianity, which was yet only weakly rooted in the land. In 921, she procured the murder of Ludmilla, her virtuous mother-in-law: she banished the clergy, and destroyed the churches. But a change was effected, when, in 925, Winceslaus, the son of Wratislaus and Drahomira, who had been educated in virtue by his grandmother Ludwilla, ascended the throne. The change, however, was of short duration. Winceslaus was slain in 935, by his unnatural pagan brother Boleslaus. His death was followed by a second persecution of the Christians, and particularly of the clergy.* Boleslaus was soon engaged in a bloody war with the Germans: he was made tributary to Otho III, and embraced Christianity. His son Boleslaus II, surnamed the Pious, obtained, in 972, from the bishop of Ratisbon, to whose diocese Bohemia belonged, what his father had in vain attempted—the erection of an episcopal see at Prague. Pope John XIII confirmed the foundation of the bishopric, but with the condition that the liturgy should be performed in the Latin, and not in the Slavonian language. But it is highly probable that in Bohemia, the first clergy of which were German priests from the diocese of Ratisbon, no Slavonian rite, or at most only a Greek-Slavonian rite, had hitherto been practised. It is certain, however, that the Benedictine monks of the abbey of Sazaver, which was founded about the year 1050, continued for a long time to employ a Latin-Slavonian liturgy. Dithmar, a Saxon, was the first bishop of Prague. He and his successor Adalbert, who had been educated at Magdeburg, and whose Bohemian name was Wogteich, received their

* See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, September 28.

investiture from the German emperor, as the new bishopric had before formed a part of the German diocese of Ratisbon. Adalbert found, when he entered Bohemia in 983, many pagan customs still existing—polygamy, incestuous marriages, arbitrary divorces, the traffic of captives and of Christian slaves with Jews and infidels,—and, what was worse perhaps, a dissolute clergy. Twice did he leave his Church in despair, and return to his monastery. He at length went as a missionary into Prussia, where, in 997, he was crowned with martyrdom.

The name of Poles was applied, from the tenth century, to the Slavonian tribe of the Belocroats, who inhabited the countries since known by the appellation of Poland the Less and Red Russia; of those who dwelt on the banks of the central Vistula, and of the Masuri about Polotzk. When the Poles, whose kingdom extended to the Netze and Oder, and over the present Silesia, had yielded to the feudal superiority of the Germans, they must at the same time have been made acquainted with Christianity. The Polish duke, Miecislaus, who had been seven times married, but was without children, espoused in 965, Dambrowka, the daughter of the Bohemian duke, Boleslaus. Soon after his nuptials he was converted to the faith, and baptised by a Bohemian priest named Bohuwid. He then immediately issued a command, that on a certain Sunday in the year 967, all the idols in the country should be broken in pieces and cast into the water. We do not read that this compulsory act produced any reaction from the paganism of Poland. Boleslaus Chrobri (992-1025), the son of Miecislaus, exerted his zeal to establish more firmly the Christian religion in his land. The observance of the precepts of the Church was enforced by the severest laws: the violation of the ecclesiastical fast was punished by the extraction of the offender's teeth. Bishoprics were founded at Breslaw (in Smogrow till the year 1052), at Cracow, and at Colberg, and an archbishopric at Gnesen. The bishopric of Posen was founded in 970, by Otho I, and sub-

jected to the metropolitan church of Magdeburg. Happy for Poland, which was rent by internal divisions, was the reign of Casimir I (1034-1058), whom his countrymen called from the abbey of Cluny (or Braunweiler), where he was then a monk, to place him on the throne. He erected two Benedictine abbeys, one at Tgniec near Cracow, and another at Leubus in Silesia. But his wicked son, Boleslaus II, murdered, with his own hand, the blessed Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, whilst at the altar, because he had presumed to reprove the vicious habits of his sovereign. The royal assassin was excommunicated by Gregory VII: he was compelled to leave his kingdom, and died, in a state of madness, in 1081.

In the north east of Germany dwelt separate independent tribes of Sclavonians, who, in the beginning of the tenth century, were still pagans, and were in unceasing hostilities with the Germans. Between the Elbe and the Saale were the Sorbi, with whom were connected the Daleminzians, in Misnia; the Milzenians inhabited the upper, and the Lusizians the lower Lusazia. More to the north, and between the Elbe and the Oder, were settled the Leutizians, or Wilzians: beyond them, and extending to the Baltic, were the Polaberians near Rasseburg, the Obotrites in Mecklenburg, and the Wagrians around Aldenburg. The insatiable thirst of the Sclavonians for rapine could not allow them to remain for any length of time in peace with their more powerful neighbours, the Germans; and the Germans, it would seem, knew of no other means of reducing them to subjection than the violent introduction of Christianity. Oftentimes, therefore, was the Christian religion made known to the Sclavonians at the point of the sword, or when they had first been made slaves: we cannot then wonder if it were received with reluctance, or rejected as soon as an opportunity of rejection was presented. The emperor Otho founded one after another different bishoprics in the subjected Sclavonian lands; at Havelburg, in 946; at Brandenburg, in 949; at Misnia, in 965; at Zeiz, Merseburg, and Aldenburg, then named Stargard, in

968. From the year 1066, Benno, bishop of Misnia, laboured much amongst the Sorbi, and obtained for himself, by his zeal, the title of Apostle of the Slavonians. But the Obotrites and Leutizians, under their prince Mistewoi, persecuted Christianity in the year 983: they slew the Christians at Aldenburg, and inflicted a slow and cruel death upon no less than sixty priests. The bishoprics of Havelburg and Brandenburg existed now, for a long time, only in name. Gotteschalk, the grandson of Mistewoi, in 1045, united the tribes of the Obotrites and Leutizians in one powerful nation, and laboured with zeal to reestablish amongst them the Christian religion. In addition to Aldenburg, episcopal sees were erected in Mecklenburg and Rasseburg. But in 1066 another insurrection burst forth: the pagans murdered Gotteschalk and the Christian priests; they destroyed the churches, and sacrificed the bishop of Mecklenburg on the altar of their idol Rade-gart, at Rhetra. The churches of Hamburg and Schleswig were now again overrun by paganism, and thus was Christianity for a second time extirpated from these countries.

The Slavonian tribes, which inhabited the central provinces of the present Russia, bordered on the south by the Chazari, and on the north by the Tschudich, or Finnish tribes, were formed into a kingdom, in 862, by the Norman Ruric, whom they had elected to be their guide and ruler. The capital of their kingdom was first Nowgorod, and afterwards Kiov, which was situated more to the south. From Ruric and from his companions in arms, the Russians (so this new-formed people were named) soon acquired the Norman spirit of enterprise and plunder. They appeared as early as the year 867, and again in the years 907 and 941, on the Black Sea before Constantinople. Their war and treaties with the Byzantine empire first introduced them to a knowledge of Christianity. Photius speaks in the highest terms of the faith of the Russians. In the beginning of the tenth century, Russia was enumerated as the sixtieth archbishopric under the eparchs who

were dependant on the patriarch of Constantinople. In 945 Kiov was a metropolitan see, and in 957, Olga, the widow of the chief prince Igor, was baptised in the imperial city of the Greeks; but in vain did she endeavour to win her son, the haughty Swatoslaw, to the faith of Christ: the conversion of Russia was, therefore, reserved for her grandson, Wladimir. This prince, who, in 980, became sole monarch of Russia, had resolved to embrace Christianity, when his conversion was proposed to him as a condition by the Greek emperor, the hand of whose sister he sought in marriage. He was baptised at Cherson in 988: he immediately commanded all the idols at Kiov to be destroyed, and the image of Perun, the chief God of the Russians, to be thrown into the Dnieper. His decree, that all the inhabitants should appear on the banks of the same river to receive baptism on the following day, was obeyed without opposition. Greek priests were now sent into the different cities; churches and cloisters were erected, and schools established. The Sclavonian alphabet, invented by Cyril, was introduced, and the original dialect of the Sclavonians was carefully preserved in the monasteries. Michael, a Syrian by birth, was the first metropolitan of Russia. But easily as the people thus, in appearance, yielded to the change of religion, paganism was not entirely banished, particularly amongst the tribes that were not of Sclavonian descent, before the twelfth century. The founding of new cities, which were exclusively Christian, tended greatly to the establishment of the faith. The connexion of the Grecian with the Russian Church opened the way for the introduction into Russia of the arts and literature of Greece. It was doubtless on account of the similarity of the two Churches, that Nicetas hesitated not to name the Russians the most Christian people. In the eleventh century Kiov possessed no less than four hundred churches, and had gained for itself the title of the second Constantinople. In one of its cloisters, the monk Nestor (1056-1111) wrote his annals in the language of the country. But the entire

spiritual and hierarchical dependance of the Russian Church upon the Church of the Greeks—the Russian metropolitans were always confirmed and consecrated by the patriarchs of Constantinople—involved it in the melancholy schism of the latter. Hence the Russian clergy always arrayed themselves at a distance, and in hostility, against the many ameliorations of social life which were effected in the west, and placed the strongest barriers against the many improvements that might have flowed in upon their country from the Catholic states of western Europe.

SECTION IV.

CHRISTIANITY AMONGST THE AVARI, CHAZARI, AND BULGARIANS.—CONVERSION OF THE MAGYARI IN HUNGARY.—PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS IN SPAIN.—CHRISTIANITY IN INTERIOR ASIA.*

THE Avari were a Tartar, or Turan tribe, from a province of central Asia. In the seventh and eighth centuries they ruled from the banks of the Dneiper over Urania, Moldavia, Wallachia, Hungary, Moravia and Bohemia, as far as the Norgaw. So also were the Chazari, who in the ninth century dwelt between the Dneiper and the Don; and the Bulgarians, who, in 679, seized the regions between the Niester and the Danube, and from the Danube to Hamus. From them the country derived its name. The western Avari were

* For the Bulgarians: The Epistles of Photius, in Canisius—Basnage, tom. ii. pt. 2; and in Photii Epistolæ, ed. Montacutius, Londini, 1651, fol.; The Writings of the Popes Nicholas I, Adrian II, and John VIII, in Harduin, tom. v. vi.—For the Hungarians: Chartuitii (an Hungarian bishop, about 1095) Vita S. Stephani, in Schwandtner, Script. Rerum Hungaric. tom. i.; Joh. de Thurocz, Chronic. Hungari, ibid.; Wion, Vita S. Gerardi, in Katona Hist. Regum Hungaric. tom. i. ii.—On Spain: Eulogii Cordubens, Memoriale Sanctorum; Apologeticus SS. Martyrum; Adhortatio ad Martyrium; Epistolæ in Bibliotheca PP. Lugdun. tom. xv.—On Asia: Assemani, Biblioth. Orientalis, tom. ii. iii.

compelled, by the victorious Charlemagne, to receive, or rather to permit Christianity to be introduced, amongst them. Three of their chiefs, with their followers, were baptised, and in 798 Charles intrusted the churches of the conquered Avari to Arno, bishop of Salzburg. Those of the northern Pannonia were subjected to Uolf, bishop of Passau. But Christianity had struck only weak roots in the land of the Avari. The people themselves lost their existence as a nation in the ninth century, and disappeared before the power of the Slavonians, Bulgarians, and Margyari. The Gospel was first made known to the Chazari by the Greek Cyril, about the year 850, but time was required before it could entirely expel the religion of Muhammed. Christianity had been propagated amongst the Bulgarians, who dwelt along the banks of the Danube, by the Christians with whom they were mingled, when the emperor Michael, at the request of the Bulgarian prince, Bogor, sent to them, about the year 863, the monk Methodius. This holy man exhibited to the prince a picture of the last judgment, when Bogor, asking if such a scene should in reality occur, and being told by Methodius that all men should one day appear before the great judge there represented, instantly laid aside his martial attire to be instructed in the religion of Christ. He was soon called to repress a rebellion of his pagan subjects, whom after their defeat he led to the waters of baptism. He then sent embassies to the pope Nicholas and to the emperor Lewis II, praying that bishops and priests might be sent to confirm his people in their faith, and to request of the pontiff that a metropolitan of the Bulgarian nation might be established at Justiniana Prima. But a change soon came over his sentiments. At first he would not permit any priests but such as had come from Rome to preach to his subjects, yet when the archbishop Silvester, who had been appointed by Adrian II, arrived in Bulgaria, he was sent back by Bogor, who obtained another metropolitan from Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, even in opposition to all the remonstrances of the sove-

reign pontiff. From that period Bulgaria also took part in the Grecian schism, although in the following century, about 925, the Bulgarian archbishop, with the consent of the emperor Romanus Lecapenus, declared his province independant of the patriarchate of Constantinople.

The Magyari, or Hungarians, who passed from Asia in the year 889, over the Carpathian mountains into the ancient Pannonia, the modern Hungary, are of unknown origin. They have been traced by different historians to Finnish, Mongol, and Turkish tribes. Their religion was dualistic, and the title of their evil genius (Armanyos, Ahriman), bespeaks the Persian descent of the people, or at least of their religion. Sacrifices, particularly of white horses, were offered to their deities, near fountains, in valleys, and on mountains. Christianity first penetrated amongst them from Constantinople, about the year 950. Two chieftains, who had been baptised at Constantinople, returned to their native country with the monk Hierotheus, who had been ordained bishop of Hungary. In a short time his success was great. Sarolta, a daughter of one of the chieftains, was espoused to the duke Geisa (972-997), and laboured much to propagate and confirm the faith. Geisa himself was baptised, but he continued to practise heathen rites together with the duties of Christianity. It appeared that the Church of Hungary was destined to stand in a relation with Greece, similar to that in which the Church of Russia had been before placed; but the extensive labours of western missionaries, the connexion of Geisa with the emperor Otho III, with princes of Germany, and the Christian captives who had been carried away from countries of the west, and who in number almost equalled their masters, effected a closer union between Hungary and the Western Church. Piligrinus, bishop of Passau, in his epistle to the Roman pontiff in 974, related, that the priests who had been sent by him into Hungary had already baptised more than five thousand of the inhabitants, and that the Christians (the Christian slaves

being included) far exceeded the number of the infidels. The conversion of the country was greatly accelerated by the Germans, who at the desire of Geisa, emigrated into his country, and finally settled there. But in 997 Geisa was succeeded by his great and holy son St. Stephen, the legislator and benefactor of his native land, the most noble of the princes of the middle ages, whose many and exalted virtues have entitled him to rank with Alfred of England, and with Lewis IX of France. In the very commencement of his reign he was compelled to take the field against his pagan subjects, whose hatred against the favoured Christian foreigners drove them to rebellion. The number of his faithful followers was few, he was therefore necessitated to invoke the aid of the princes of Germany. The first care of Stephen in the establishment of religion, was to erect schools for the education of priests: he founded also, besides the monastery on Mount Panon, four abbeys of Benedictines. He divided the country into eleven dioceses:—on the right bank of the Danube the archbishopric of Gran, and the bishoprics of Raab, Wesprim, and Funfkirchen; between the Danube and the Theiss, Bacs, Colveza, Erlaw, and Wassen; on the opposite bank of the Theiss, Esanad and Grosswardein; in Siebenburgen, Weissenburg. Ecclesiastics were invited by the holy prince from Germany and Bohemia. Every ten villages were to form a Church, and all were to pay tithes. To encourage a spirit of pilgrimage, and thereby a communication with other Christian nations, Stephen endowed cloister hospitals for Hungarians at Ravenna, Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. Pope Silvester II, to acknowledge the gratitude of the apostolic see for his great zeal and labours, and to confirm the constitution of the Hungarian Church, sent an embassy to Stephen. The pontiff conferred upon him at the same time the title of king, granted him most extensive powers in ecclesiastical affairs, and consecrated the monk Dominicus as first metropolitan of all Hungary.

After the death of St. Stephen paganism made a

violent and dreadful struggle to regain its lost ascendancy. The insurgent infidels deprived Peter, the nephew of St. Stephen, of his sight and of his crown, and in 1046 called from Russia, Andrew, a member of the tribe of Arpad, whom they raised to the throne, but obliged him to consent to the reestablishment of idolatry. They began again to eat horse-flesh, and to practise many abominations: bands of marauders destroyed the churches, and slew the bishops, the priests, and even the Christian laity. Many were the martyrs who sealed their faith with their blood: but as soon as the king found himself of sufficient strength to act, he decreed that all his pagan subjects should abandon their infidelity, under pain of immediate death. Again the adherents to paganism endeavoured to resist. At the first assembly of the nation which king Bela convoked in 1061, they arrogantly demanded permission to live according to the customs of their ancestors; to strangle the bishops and the collectors of the tithes, to destroy the churches and break in pieces the bells. But a bold attempt made Bela master of the rebels: their leaders were executed, and thus was paganism banished for a second time from the land, externally at least; for it continued long to be cherished in the minds and hearts of many.

The Hungarian bishops were nominated by the king, and were, through the whole of the eleventh century, for the most part foreigners, as was indeed the majority of the inhabitants. Sclavonians, Magyari, Cumans, Italians, and Germans, were here to be found commingled indiscriminately together. To the eleven dioceses established by St. Stephen, a twelfth was added by St. Ladislaus, the bishopric of Agram (Zagrab), in the recently acquired Croatia. The bishops, the abbots of the fifteen Benedictine cloisters, and the deans of chapters, formed (and the extent of their ecclesiastical possession would have given them this rank) the first state in the kingdom. The clergy were bound by a law to employ the Latin language in their daily intercourse with each other, and Latin became, in a short

time, the language of the court and of the halls of justice. That part of the book of the laws of St. Stephen which treats of ecclesiastical affairs, was drawn from the ancient canons, from the capitularies of the French kings, and from the decrees of the councils of Mentz from 847 to 888.

The West Gothic kingdom of the Pyrenean peninsula was destroyed in 711 by an invasion of Arabs, who had been called over from Africa by one of two contending parties. The victory of the Muhammedans at Xeres de la Frontera sealed the fate of Spain. In a short time the Arabs overran the greater part of the country, and it was only in the mountain fortresses of Galicia, Biscay, and Asturia, that the Christians could live in peace. The Christians who were subject to the new caliphate were compelled to pay a heavy tribute, but they enjoyed many liberties: they were governed by their own laws; they were called to their churches, even in Cordova, the capital of the Muhammedan kingdom, by the sound of bells; they continued to live under their ancient ecclesiastical government of twenty-nine bishops and three metropolitans. It was, however, natural that the more zealous amongst the Christians should, either accidentally, or when interrogated by the Moslems, express their abhorrence of the religion of Muhammed, whom they could designate by no other appellation than by that of a false prophet. This provoked the violent persecutions which burst forth under Abderrahman II, Muhammed I, and Abderrahman III, between the years 850 and 960. The effect of the first executions was, that many deemed silence to be a denial of their faith, and these, even uninterrogated, were loud and vehement in their condemnation of Muhammedanism. Children, moreover, that sprung from the mixed marriages of Christians with infidels, generally gave the preference to the religion of their Christian parent, and hence youthful Christian virgins were oftentimes barbarously tortured and cruelly executed. In the first years of the persecution, 850 and 851, torrents of blood, the blood of priests, monks and

laics, flowed over the land, and more copiously than elsewhere, in Cordova, the seat of the Moorish power. An edict of 852 decreed, that any one who should presume to utter a word against the religion of Muhammed should be punished with instant death. As in the persecutions of the Roman emperors, so in these, the fear of tortures caused many Christians to fall from their faith; others accused the martyrs of an unnecessary and imprudent temerity, in exposing themselves to torments. At the command of Abderrahman, the bishops of his kingdom met in council, and the result of their deliberations was a decree, expressed in ambiguous and equivocal language, forbidding the Christians to seek death by a declaration of their faith, unless they were judicially cited before their judges. Abderrahman commanded also, that the bodies of those who had suffered should be burnt, that their friends might be deprived of the consolation of preserving their relics. His son, Muhammed I, ordered the destruction of all the churches in his kingdom. The execution of the Christians still continued at Cordova, and the holy Eulogius, archbishop elect of Toledo,—who has described as an eye-witness the sufferings of the martyrs, who encouraged many to persevere, and defended their cause against their weaker brethren,—was himself glorified with a martyr's crown in 859.

In the north of Spain the Christians, who were at first despised by the Moors, having defended themselves by many a bloody combat against their foes, began to form for themselves an independent nationality. A new ardour for the cause of Christianity, and an increased detestation of Muhammedanism, grew within their souls, and imparted to the war the character of a war of religion. In the north-west, the provinces of Asturia, Galicia, and Leon, were united, and formed the kingdom of Leon. Some years later Catalonia asserted its independance; the kingdom of Navarre was also formed, and finally, in 1035, the kingdom of Arragon.

After the successive reconquest of different provinces, the ancient bishoprics were again established,

or new ones erected ; so that at the close of the eleventh century, the Christian kingdoms of the north of Spain were in possession of twenty-three bishoprics. The synods which were now held were, as they had been in the times of the West Goths, assemblies of ecclesiastics and of the temporal nobles.

In the interior of Asia, Christianity advanced rapidly during this period, through the exertions of the Nestorians, but its existence there was only transitory. At Maru and Hara, the two principal cities of Corasan, the ancient Hircania, and also at Sarmarcand, there had been bishops since the fifth century. Towards the end of the eighth century, the Nestorian patriarch sent missionaries to the inhabitants of the shores of the Caspian Sea, the Geli, the Dailamiti, and the Taborstani, who had fallen from the Christian faith. In the ninth century there were two bishoprics amongst these Tartar tribes. Even amongst the people who dwelt on the northern confines of China, there were Christian communities in the eighth century. In the year 990 the whole of the Tartar tribe of the Cerithi, which inhabited the country nearest to China, followed the example of its king in embracing the faith of Christ. Many of the successors of this prince bore the name of John, with the title of priest, and from this circumstance was derived the report, which was spread in the west during the following centuries, that there was in the east a mighty kingdom, of which a priest named John was king. Of the extensive propagation of the Christian religion in central Asia to the boundaries of China, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we may assure ourselves from the fact, that in the catalogue of Nestorian bishops, we find five metropolitans, whose provinces were within Great Tartary, and who dwelt at Carchar, Novocat, Canda, Turkestan, and Tanguth.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE HERESIES, DOGMATICAL
CONTESTS, AND SCHISMS.

I. THE PAULICIANS.*

THROUGH the whole course of Ecclesiastical History, down to the latest period of the Middle Ages, we may trace an unbroken succession of Gnostic-Manichean doctrines and sects. Together with the Manichees, the Marcionites also appear to have maintained themselves for a long time, and particularly in Syria. Theodoret found them in great numbers in his diocese. The Paulicians were, it is more than probable, a new formation of these sects: they derived their name, not from their founder, or from their more early chiefs—the brothers Paul and John, sons of the Manichean woman Callinche—but rather from the apostle St. Paul, whose doctrines they pretended to follow in opposition to the doctrines of the other apostles, especially of St. Peter. From the disciples of St. Paul they borrowed the names of their superiors, and designated their communities after the Churches which he had either planted or regulated.

The founder of the sect was a Gnostic—probably a Marcionite Gnostic—a Syrian named Constantine (Silvanus), who, between the years 657 and 684, disseminated his doctrines with great success, from Kibossa in

* Photius, *adversus Paulianistas*, sc. recentiores Manichæos, lib. iv. in *Wolfii Anecdotis Græcis*, tom. i.; Petri Siculi (about 870) *Historia Manichæorum*, ed. Matth. Rader, Ingolst. 1604; Johannis Ozniensis, Armeniorum Catholici (about 718) *Oratio contra Paulicianos*, in ejus *Opp.* ed. Aucher, Venet. 1834; *Formula Abjurationis Athlinganorum*, in *Bandini Anecdotis Græcis*, tom. ii. 1763.

Armenia. Simeon, an officer who was sent by the emperor, caused him to be apprehended and stoned to death by his own disciples ; but in a short time Simeon himself passed over to the sect, and became its chief, under the name of Titus. Internal dissensions revealed to the emperor Justinian II, in 690, that the sect still continued to exist. He condemned all those who should persevere in it to death by fire. Simeon, and many of his adherents, suffered under this severe decree. The Armenian Paul, who with his two sons, Gegnasius and Theodorus, had fled from his country, was constituted the head of his party at Episparris, in the Armenian province of Phanarœa. After his death a schism between his sons divided the entire sect ; Gegnasius claimed the superiority, because the gifts of the Spirit had passed from his father to him : his brother asserted that they had been imparted to him immediately from heaven. Gegnasius, in 717, gave to his doctrines an appearance of orthodoxy, by the equivocal expressions in which he clothed them before the patriarch of Constantinople : he then received letters of protection from the emperor, and placed his residence in the village of Mananalis, in the dominions of the Caliphate. His death also was followed by a schism between his son Zacharias and his foster-son Joseph, who split the sect into two violent factions. The adherents of the former perished, nearly all, beneath the swords of the Saracens, but Joseph propagated his party from Antioch in Pisidia into Asia Minor. He was followed, in 770, by Baanes, who, on account of his shameless vices, was named the *Filthy* (ὁ ρυπαρός). The sect had then fallen into so public and deep a degradation of morals, that in a short time it must have destroyed itself, or have lost its attractions, had not Sergius, a man of exalted talent in every respect, given a new impulse to the party that had attached itself to him, in opposition to those who remained with Baanes. The name of Tychicus which he now assumed, gave to him, in the language of metempsychosis, the dignity of the disciple of St. Paul, of the same name, who had ap-

peared, he said, in his person. He suffered himself to be honoured by his devoted followers, as the Paraclete : he called himself a burning and a shining light, the good shepherd, the bearer of the body of Christ, which was to remain with his followers all days, to the end of the world : he boasted that he had journeyed from the east to the west, and from the north to the south, to make known to men the gospel of Christ. During the long period in which he presided over his party, the external affairs of the Paulicians assumed a change : they acquired many adherents even in Constantinople. The emperor Nicephorus favoured them about the year 810, and Michael I, when he deliberated in council on the punishments to be inflicted upon them, found his advisers divided in opinion. Some maintained, that in affairs of religion punishment of death ought not to be inflicted ; whilst others, amongst whom was the patriarch, argued that the Paulicians were dangerous seducers, who poisoned whole provinces with their doctrines, and should therefore, if need required it, be extirpated by the sword. Michael contented himself with the execution of a few. His successor, Leo, sent amongst them two judges, with powers to behead those who were more obstinate ; but the judges were murdered by the Paulicians, who now, contrary indeed to the representations of Sergius, made frequent incursions from Armenia, which the Saracens had subjugated, and carried away on their return crowds of captives. When Sergius was slain in 835, his confidential disciples undertook the government of the sect, which had now become numerous in Asia Minor. At Constantinople, under Theodora, the resolve was taken either to convert or to destroy them. A hundred thousand men must then have been hanged, beheaded, or drowned. Carbeas, one of the sect, with five thousand Paulicians, found protection in the dominions of the Caliphs. From their fortresses, Argeum, Tephrica, and Amara, they were the scourge of the Asiatic provinces. They received all malefactors who fled to them for asylum, and strengthened their power by the union of the

Baanites and Sergiotes. After a contest, which was prolonged by the weakness of the Byzantine government, they were finally subdued, in 873, by the emperor Basil. From that time their power was broken for ever. The emperor John Zimisces transplanted the remnant of the sect, in 969, into the country of Philipopolis in Thrace. Constantine Copronymus had acted in a similar manner two hundred years before. Alexius Comnenus entered into controversy with them in 1084, and asserted that he converted many.

The Paulicians distinguished, according to the dualist doctrines of the Manichees, the good God, the Lord of Heaven and author of the world of spirits, whom alone they adored, from the evil God, the Demiurgos, who had sprung from fire and from darkness, the creator of this world and of the human body, of whom the Old Testament taught and whom Catholic Christians adored. According to their doctrines, the human soul, which was similar in essence to the highest God, was in the body the seat of all evil passions, as in an impure prison. The fall of the first man into sin they declared to be a blessing, probably because therein they imagined that they beheld an act of rebellion against the law of the Demiurgos, occasioned by a revelation from the supreme God. The Redeemer, whose mission, according to the Paulician idea, had no other object than to commence the process of the purification of the soul, which was held captive and defiled by matter, descended from the heaven of the good God, invested with a celestial body, and passed from Mary (who did not remain a virgin, and belonged scarcely to the good, much less to the holy portion of men) as from a channel. They could not acknowledge the sufferings of Christ to be anything real, and could not therefore attribute any efficacy to them. The cross had no reference to him, only as far as that when praying and blessing, he extended his arms in the form of a cross; to honour this sign of malediction was therefore an abomination, and yet, in the time of sickness, they were guilty of superstition in their use of it.

The sacraments, even baptism and the eucharist, were rejected by them, in their delusion that matter was the seat of evil. They taught that Christ did not institute baptism by water, for he called himself the living water; that at his last supper he did not give to his disciples bread and wine, but that the words which he spoke to them were figuratively expressive of those elements. They, of course, condemned the entire system of the constitution of the Church, the priesthood, and all ecclesiastical ceremonies. With the Old Testament, they rejected also the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles. They were violent in their hatred of the apostle St. Peter, whom they declared to be a thief and a robber, and a falsifier of the word of God. They named themselves Christians, the Catholics, Romans: their places of worship were not denominated churches, but prayer-stations (*προσευχαι*). They honoured their founder, and his immediate successors, as prophets and apostles, and the letters of Sergius they revered as inspired. To misrepresent or to deny their belief, to conceal it beneath expressions of double signification, to join in the worship, and even to receive the sacraments of the Catholic Church, they considered justifiable if circumstances should so require. That in the nocturnal assemblies of the Paulicians, as of the more ancient Gnostics, the greatest abominations were practised, we learn both from Greek and Armenian historians, whose narratives are wholly independent of each other. The only question can be, whether this imputation can apply to the entire body, or to only a part of the sect. Sergius laboured both to repress and to conceal these shameful excesses. After this, we can hardly wonder at the severity of the Greek emperors against them.

About the year 840, there was formed in Armenia a sect which sprung from the Paulicians. Its founder was a man named Sembat, and his followers were named Thondracites, from Thondrac, the city in which they first appeared. Together with the sacraments, they repudiated all faith in the immortality of the soul,

and in the providence of God. Notwithstanding the severe measures that were adopted against them, they continued, under a succession of nine chiefs, as late as the eleventh century. Contemporary with the Paulicians in the Byzantine empire, we find named also the Athingans, a sect which, at one period, was widely spread. They were considered as a continuation of the old Melchisedechites or Theodotians, as they taught that Melchisedech was the great power of God,—greater, indeed, than Christ, whose father and God he was. They observed the sabbath, and rejected baptism; and gave themselves up to the practice of incantations and astrology. They received their name from the anxiety with which they avoided all connexion with any other creed: they would have considered themselves to have thereby contracted a defilement, from which purification by water was necessary.

II. THE ICONOCLASTS IN THE EAST.*

During the great controversies on the Trinity, and on the mutual relations of the two natures in Christ, it had been made evident that, in the East, even the people participated deeply in the speculative questions which required in those who treated them the greatest learning and penetration of mind. Had any external subject, a subject which came every day under their observation, formed the matter of dispute, its effect upon the mass of the people would have been great,

* The *Chronicle* of Theophanes, and the *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nicephorus (died in 828); Three Epistles of the Patriarch Germanus, in the Acts of the Second Council of Nice, Hardouin. tom. iv.; Epistles of Gregory II, in Hardouin, tom. iv.; The Acts of the Synod of 754, with those of the Nicene Synod; Joannis Damasceni Orationes de Imaginibus, in Opp. ed. Le Quien, i. 305; Acta Stephani in Analect. Græcis, Paris, 1688, 4to. 396; Vita Tarasii, in Actis SS. Februarii III, 576; Vita S. Nicephori, ib. Martii II, 704; Vita Nicetæ, ib. April I, 261; Vita Theophanis, ib. Martii II, 218; Theodori Studitæ Epistolæ et Opera Dogmatica, cum ejus vita, in Opp. Sismondi, tom. v. Paris, 1696, fol.; Nicolai Studitæ Vita, in Actis SS. Febr. I, 538; The Acts of the Synod of 842, in Mansi, tom. xiv.

Maimbourg, Histoire de l'Hérésie des Iconoclastes, Paris, 1679, 2 vols.

and a mighty shock of all ecclesiastical and civil constitutions might have been the result.

The emperor Leo the Isaurian, a rude and untaught soldier, who had violently compelled the Jews to receive baptism, and who, by a like tyranny, had driven the Montanists to deeds of desperate self-murder, now adopted the Jewish and Muhammedan idea that the use and the veneration of the images of Christ and of the saints was no less a crime than idolatry. He resolved, therefore, to constitute himself, by extirpating this superstition, a reformer of the Church. Beser, a Syrian, a renegade who had been reconverted to Christianity, and a bishop, Theophilus, of Nacolia in Phrygia, were the partners of his design. The representations of the theologians of the capital, and of Germanus, the patriarch, could not restrain him from publishing, in 726, an edict, by which he prohibited the veneration of images, as being an adoration of idols. Leo sought to allay the universal discontent which immediately displayed itself, by declaring that the statues and pictures should not be destroyed, but only placed higher in the churches, that so the profanation might be removed with the danger of contagion." In Italy, this edict, united with the discontent occasioned by the imposition of a heavy tax, caused a violent reaction; and had it not been for the interposition of the pope, whose remonstrances Leo had answered with a threat of deposition, a new emperor would have been elected, or an immediate separation from the Greek empire would have followed. The opposition which Leo everywhere encountered embittered his mind, and drove him to the adoption of measures more severe and more tyrannical. As the greater number of artists resided in monasteries, and as the monks exercised great influence over the minds of the populace, the enmity of the emperor was naturally turned against the religious; and as he then took from the monasteries the direction of the higher schools, he well-nigh effected the ruin of the sciences throughout the East. After he had overcome an insurrection of the inhabitants of the Greek

islands, whom his war against images had driven into rebellion, and who had appeared in their ships under the walls of Constantinople,—he, in 728, commanded, by a new decree, that the use of images should be universally discontinued. At first, indeed, the images of our Saviour and of his holy mother were tolerated; but these also, after a time, were commanded to be removed. Anastasius, the imperial secretary, was placed in the patriarchal throne of Germanus, who had been compelled to resign, and lent his name as the complying instrument in all the designs of his master. Even in the capital, the destruction of a crucifix which had stood in a public square, raised a tumult which was not suppressed before blood had been shed. The views of the emperor and of the party, which had now been formed, of image-destroyers, (*εικονοκλασται*) were made known by the inscription that was placed under the cross, which was erected on the spot where the crucifix had before stood;—the emperor could not endure that a dumb and soulless figure, formed of earthly materials, and defiled with colours, should be made to represent Christ. Thus this enmity against religious representations manifested itself as a blind and senseless hatred of the imitative arts.

The patriarch Germanus, the popes Gregory II and Gregory III, and John of Damascus, opposed the attempts of the emperor, and defended the ecclesiastical use of images and pictures. They stated: the declaration that the Church had for centuries tolerated and favoured gross idolatry, and a violation of the first of the divine precepts, must shock the mind of every Christian;—that no Christian could be persuaded into the belief that the matter of the statue was anything divine, or that it was animated by the Divinity,—consequently, that he never could adore it;—that the weakest mind could distinguish between an absolute adoration of images, and a relative honour given to the images in reference to their originals;—that the precept respecting representations, formerly given to the Jews, was not obligatory on Christians; and that since the incarna-

tion of the second person of the sacred Trinity, a representation of his human form was possible, and to be permitted.

All the Churches that had nothing to fear from the revenge of Leo, ceased all communion with the Iconoclasts. At Rome, Gregory III held a council of ninety-three bishops, who pronounced sentence of excommunication against the enemies of sacred images. Leo resolved to subdue opposition in Italy, by the force of arms ; but a tempest destroyed his fleet in the Adriatic Gulf, and he contented his indignation by confiscating the patrimonies of the Roman Church in Calabria and in Sicily, and by separating the Illyrian provinces from the Roman patriarchate. Constantine Copronymus (741-750) exceeded even the violence of his father. In the very beginning of his reign, he had to defend his throne against the usurper Artabasduş, who, to gain the people to his party, declared himself the champion of the use of sacred images. After his victory, Constantine raged against his enemies with merciless fury : upon the miserable Anastasius, who had espoused the cause of his rival, he inflicted the most awful cruelties ; but, after some time, he restored him again to his dignity, that he might possess in him a minister subservient to his designs. After the death of Anastasius, the emperor, to decide the controversy on images, convened a synod of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops at Constantinople, in the year 754. This assembly, at which only the bishops of Asia Minor, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, but not one of the three oriental patriarchs, were present, revealed the deep degradation into which the Byzantine Church had fallen. Only a few of the bishops were in reality opposed to the respect shewn to images ; but the great majority bowed in servile compliance to the will of the court. The decree that was formed by them stated,—that as God in former times had sent the apostles, so, in these last days, he had raised up the pious emperors to extirpate idolatry, which had been again introduced by the artifices of the devil ;—that the disgraceful and blasphemous

mous art of painters had destroyed the work of our redemption, and had perverted all the decrees of the six general councils ;—that there was only one true and real image of Christ—the Eucharist, which was the body of Christ united with the Godhead, and which therefore contained both his body and his divinity, and the plenitude of the Holy Spirit residing in his humanity ;—that it alone was worthy of adoration, and was free from all the illusions which were in other images. The formation and veneration of images were therefore prohibited by the severest penalties ; but the veneration and invocation of saints were confirmed. The deceased patriarch Germanus, George of Cyprus, and John of Damascus, were anathematized. The emperor then received an oath from the bishops and many others, that they would look upon all images as idols, and all who respected them as idolaters ; and that they would hate and persecute monks, wherever they might find them. Then followed the destruction of every kind of figure and representation on the altars and walls, on the vessels and ornaments of the churches. Many Catholics, particularly the monks, the persecution of whom was now effectually commenced, fled into Italy, into Cyprus, and into the Muhammedan Asia. The pope and the three patriarchs of the East rejected and condemned the decree of 754. The persecution of those who were bold enough to resist this new degree, increased every day in cruelty ; and it was the delight of Constantine to feed his eyes with the view of those who were scourged or maimed by his orders. The monk Andrew the Calybite paid with his life for his freedom of speech in defence of the faith of the Church, as did the abbot Stephen, who, with a piece of gold on which was a bust of the emperor, proved that the insult offered to the image might be referred to the original. When he was cast into prison, he found there three hundred and forty-two monks, of whom the greater part had been tortured or maimed, and who all awaited the sentence of death. Constantine, in whom, as in most tyrants, the greatest cruelty was united with

the most unnatural moral vices, now meditated the entire destruction of all the monasteries and monks in his empire. The cloisters, and with them their rich libraries, were either burnt or converted into barracks ;—the monks were compelled to lay aside their habits and to marry, or to save their lives in foreign lands. Even his own patriarch, who had hitherto obeyed his every will, was deposed, and soon after executed. The Iconoclasts, to whom not only the army and the officers of state, but the populace also, now belonged, at length turned their rage against the relics of the saints. These they either consumed by fire, or cast into the sea : crosses without figures of our crucified Redeemer, were all that were now exposed to the veneration of the people.

During the short reign of Leo IV (775-780), the laws against images were rigidly enforced : every bishop, at his ordination, was compelled to sign their condemnation. Many of the exiled monks, however, now returned. Irene, the widow of Leo, who governed the empire during the minority of her son Constantine VI, dared not, at first, declare publicly in favour of sacred pictures and images ; but in secret she protected the orthodox Catholics. The patriarch Paul now died, with expressions of deep regret and repentance that he had taken upon himself the government of a Church which was separated from the communion of the whole Christian world, and that, through human respect, he had sworn to the condemnation of religious representations. Tarasius, an excellent man, an officer of state, whom Paul recommended as his successor, declared, in 784, that he would assume the patriarchal dignity, only with the condition that the unity of the Church should be restored, and that, with the consent of the bishop of Rome, a general council should be convoked. Adrian, the Roman pontiff, before whom Tarasius laid a profession of faith, received him into the communion of the Church, and wrote to the empress, who had sent to him a deputation of bishops, to request him to preside over the council. As preliminaries,

Adrian required that the acts of the false council of 754 should be rescinded, and that he should receive a sworn declaration that the freedom of the council, to which he would send his legates, should not be invaded. To his demand that the patrimonies of the Roman Church, which had been seized by Leo, should be restored, no attention was given. The delegates whom Tarasius sent to the three patriarchs of the East, were prevented by the suspicious policy of the Muhammedans from reaching their destination. The monks of Jerusalem, whose patriarch, Elias, had been banished into Persia, selected two of their number, John and Thomas, of whom the one had been secretary of the patriarch of Alexandria, and the other of the patriarch of Antioch. These were sent to the synod, to represent, as far as the necessities of the times would permit, the three oriental patriarchs. The absence of the patriarchs could not, the monks declared, affect the authority of the council, as long as the bishop of Rome took part therein by his legates. The first sittings of the council were held in 786, in the metropolis; but the soldiers, who were in the interest of the Iconoclast bishops, caused a tumult which interrupted the proceedings of the synod. In 787, the assembly again opened, not at Constantinople, where the power of the opposition was too great, but in the city of Nice. Two hundred and forty-five bishops, with one hundred and thirty-two abbots and monks, were present. Tarasius, although he sat below the papal legates, directed the proceedings. Many bishops, who had before belonged to the party of the Iconoclasts, recanted their errors; and as many as had participated in the acts of the synod of 754, declared that they had then been deceived by false citations from the Fathers. The principles that were laid down by Adrian in his letter on the respect to be paid to images, were first adopted by Tarasius, and, after him, by the whole council. Proofs were then adduced, that the formation and veneration of sacred figures were lawful and useful, from the Sacred Scriptures, from which the example of the cherubim on the

ark was cited,—from the writings of the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, and from the testimonies of other genuine writings: passages which declare the lawfulness of the respect paid to sacred images, were presented from the works of St. Maximus, and of Leontius, bishop of Cyprus. In the next session, the prelates were occupied in proving that Jews, Muhammedans, and heretics (the Manichees), were the cause of the war against religious images: the acts of the council of 754 were then read and condemned. In the seventh session, a profession of all the articles of faith which had been determined by the six general councils was read and adopted. The synodical degree on the subject of deliberation was then read:—Figures of Christ, of his holy mother, and of other saints, as also figures of the cross, are to be had in churches, on the sacred vessels, on ecclesiastical vestments, in houses and on the public ways, as by them the minds of the beholders are raised to their prototypes, and to a love of them; these figures are to be honoured according to ancient custom, by kissing them, by burning incense and tapers, by bowing or prostrating (τιμητικη προσκυνησις) before them, in the same manner that reverence had been always paid to the form of the cross, to the holy Gospels, and other sacred things; but adoration (λατρεία), which belongs exclusively to God, was not to be given to them. For only a relative (σχετικη) honour, which was to be referred to the original, could be paid to images. The synod expressed itself in the strongest terms against the imputation of idolatry, and against the comparison of the respect shewn by Christians to images, with the adoration of pagans. “Christians do not call their images Gods;—they do not serve them as Gods;—they do not place their hope of salvation in them, nor expect from them their future judgment: but they respect and salute them in memory and in love of their prototypes, but without paying divine honours to them.” The last session was held at Constantinople, in presence of the empress, of her son, and of a vast concourse of people, for whose instruction in

the reverence to be paid to sacred images, many unequivocal passages of the holy Fathers were read. The representations of Christ and of his Saints were now everywhere restored, and a heresy which had shed more blood than any that had preceded it, appeared to have been suppressed for ever. But it was not so.

There still continued to exist at Constantinople a powerful party of Iconoclasts, who concealed their principles during the reigns of Irene, Nicephorus, and Michael. The memories of Leo and of his son Constantine Copronymus were held by them in reverence; and they felt themselves inspired with new hopes, when they beheld another soldier, Leo the Armenian (813-820), ascend the throne of the empire. Two chiefs of the party,—the abbot John Grammaticus, who, on account of his practice in divination, was named Lecanomantis, and Theodotus Cassiteras, impressed upon the mind of the emperor the persuasion that the unhappy state of his dominions was a curse of the Almighty, inflicted upon him in punishment of the idolatry of the people. They foretold to him, that if he should banish the worship of idols, his reign would be long and happy. Leo himself thought that he could read the judgments of God in the different fates of his predecessors;—those who had been enemies to images had reigned victoriously, and had died in possession of the empire; whilst those who had defended the honour paid to images, had died in misfortune. But the patriarch Nicephorus, who was supported by Theodore, abbot of the cloister school of Constantinople, then the most learned and powerful champion of the veneration of sacred images, undauntedly resisted the attempts of the court. The emperor desired that a conference should be held; but Nicephorus, and the many bishops who were with him, refused to meet the Iconoclasts, as the cause had already been judged by a general council. The Catholic bishops were therefore debarred from all intercourse with each other, and, in 816, an imperial decree prohibited, as contrary to the law of God, all honour paid to images. Nicephorus was immured in

a monastery; and now, for the space of twenty-seven years, the Iconoclast patriarchs succeeded each other in the see of Constantinople. The first of the three, Theodotus Cassiteras, who had before been captain of a troop of the body guards, held an assembly of his party, in which the acts of the council of 754, or, as it was then called, of the seventh general council, were read. Several Catholic bishops were then violently dragged before the meeting, where they received blows and kicks, and were then cast into prison. The sacred images were again broken in pieces, and burnt; the vessels of the church, on which any figure had been formed, were destroyed; all who refused to submit, were scourged; many suffered the loss of their tongues; banishment and confiscation of property were considered the mildest chastisements. Bishops and monks suffered torture unto death, or were frequently tied in sacks, and cast into the sea. The mere possession of a religious picture, or of a book defending the use of images,—the reception of an exile, or an act of mercy exercised towards a prisoner, brought with it the heaviest punishment. Spies were hired to discover offenders. Many ecclesiastics and monks fled for refuge to Rome, where the pope, Paschal, built for them the monastery of St. Praxedis. The chief support of the Catholics, at this time, was Theodore the Studite, who, although in chains, and subjected to the most inhuman cruelties, ceased not by letters to console the persecuted, to confirm the wavering, and to instruct the ignorant. His writings contain the most profound and most ample defence of the Catholic veneration of images, as well as the refutation of the objections of the Iconoclasts.

Michael the Stammerer, who reigned from 820 to 829, permitted the banished Catholics to return to their homes. Rude, ignorant and unbelieving, he acted with perfect indifference in the controversy on images. He would make no new laws, but granted freedom to all. To prevent disturbance, however, in the capital, he would not allow any new images to be erected.

But a change was soon effected in him. He chose Constantine Copronymus, the hero of the Iconoclasts, as his model, and John Lecanomantes began, as under Leo, to persecute the bishops and monks. Euthymius, bishop of Sardes, expired beneath the scourge. In an epistle to the emperor Lewis, Michael charged the defenders of images with the most fanatical superstitions. According to him, they formally adored images and expected from them their salvation, and the priests mingled with the bread and wine of the eucharist the colours which had been scraped from the statues, and gave both to the communicants. Many of the accusations of the Iconoclasts were direct calumnies: other circumstances were the effect of an exultation after a long and sanguinary persecution, such as the fact of admitting the figure of a saint to represent the sponsor of a child at baptism. This was approved by Theodore the Studite.

Theophilus (829-842), the son of Michael, had imbibed from his instructor, John Lecanomantis, an embittered hatred against the "idolatry" of the veneration of images. Now commenced a new work of devastation, and a new persecution of ecclesiastics. The monks were expelled from their cloisters and driven from cities and villages: many of them died in their exile from hunger and misery. The emperor himself condescended to enter into a disputation with some of the Catholics, and amongst others, with the famed brothers Theodore and Theophanes, upon whose brows he, with refined cruelty, branded twelve verses. After his death, his widow Theodora, in unison with her uncle Manuel and her brother Bardas, the guardians of the young emperor, endeavoured to restore the state in which affairs had been placed in 787. The unworthy patriarch John was deposed, and Methodius, who had endured severe persecutions under the two preceding emperors, was invested with his dignity. In 842 a council was called at Constantinople, at which the friends of images who had been restored to liberty, and those bishops who knew no other law than the will

of the court, formed the majority. The decrees of the second council of Nice were confirmed, and the Iconoclasts anathematized. At the declaration of the empress, that her husband, Theophilus, had upon his death-bed given signs of repentance, he was absolved from excommunication, and a yearly festival was established to commemorate the restoration of orthodoxy, after a sanguinary struggle of one hundred and twenty years.

SECTION III.

TRANSACTIONS ON THE USE OF IMAGES IN FRANCE.— CLAUDIUS OF TOURS.*

IN France, the first information of the Iconoclast controversy was received from pope Adrian, who sent into that country the acts of the seventh general council in a translation, which was however defective and almost unintelligible. Hitherto representations of Christ and of his saints had not been in use in France, for in many parts of the kingdom pagan ideas and pagan superstitions were still prevalent amongst the people, and it had been a constant care of the councils of the nation, to exhort the clergy to labour in the extirpation of these relics of heathenism. It might therefore be feared that the rude and half pagan minds of the people might not understand the external honour which was paid to religious images, and might therefore easily convert it into idolatry. Moreover, there was not in France an analogy for the veneration of images. In the Grecian empire it had long been the custom to honour, not only the emperor, but his statues also, with marks of great external respect. The people were accustomed to honour these images and statues by burning before them incense and wax lights, and they therefore thought, and thought correctly, that the same demon-

* Augusta Concilii Nicæni Censura (Libri Carolini) ed. Heuman, Hanov. 1731; Mansi Concil. Coll. tom. xiii. xiv.; Claudius Taurenensis de cultu Imaginum (Fragments), and Dungali Liber Respons. in Biblioth. Max. PP. tom. xiv.

strations of reverence might be exhibited to images of Christ and of the saints. But it was far different in France, where these marks of respect would have borne another signification, and where the prostration (*προσκυνησις*) which was sanctioned by the second council of Nice, would have been viewed as an act of adoration due only to the Almighty. Hence arose the difference of the ideas entertained by the bishops of France, and the disapprobation, arising from ignorance, with which they received the decrees of the council of Nice. Twelve French bishops had, indeed, subscribed to the synod held in Rome under Stephen II, in 769, which approved of the veneration of images; and all were of opinion, that the hostility of the Iconoclasts against sacred images and pictures, was as senseless as it was censurable: but the bishops, who met at Francfort in 794, misled either by the defectiveness of the translation of the acts of the council, or by a false interpretation, based upon this translation, erroneously imagined that the bishops at Nice had fallen into the extreme, opposed to the principles of the Iconoclasts, and had sanctioned the practice of paying divine honours to images. According to this translation, Constantine, bishop of Cyprus, had declared at Nice, that the same adoration which was given to the Sacred Trinity, was to be given also to sacred images, whereas he had, in truth, declared the direct contrary—that the worship of adoration was to be given only to the Trinity (*ἡ κατὰ λατρείαν προσκυνησις*). Upon these false grounds the synod of Francfort raised its censure; that the council of Constantinople (it should have been Nice) had ordained, that he should be anathematised who should refuse to the images of the saints the same worship and the same adoration which were given to the most high Trinity. The synod then declared, that it permitted the use of holy images in and out of the churches, but forbade all Christians to adore them, whilst it also forbade that they should be broken or destroyed, following on this subject the principles of the pope, St. Gregory the Great.

Soon after this time appeared the “Caroline Books” (*Libri Carolini*)—a vehement refutation of the acts of the Nicene synod, compiled, it is probable, by several bishops, in the name of Charles, and sent by him to the pope. The work contains, amongst many groundless objections, which evidently arose from misconceptions of the meaning of the acts (such, for example, as the refutation of the expression supposed to have been used by Tarasius, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son), many solid answers to the weak arguments, by which some not very learned bishops endeavoured to justify their conduct at Nice in respect to images. Pope Adrian, who had confirmed the decree of the council of Nice, refuted these books at length. From this time the controversy reposed, until it was again awakened by an embassy from the emperor Michael to Lewis the Pious, and by Claudius, bishop of Turin, in 825. The emperor Lewis, with the consent of the pontiff Eugene, called an assembly of bishops at Paris, who, in their epistle to the pope, rejected the council of Nice, and accused Adrian of having favoured the superstition of the Greeks. But by a strange contradiction, they at the same time conceded to the figure of the cross an honour which they refused to the figure of Christ. It is not known what was the conduct of the pope towards an embassy that was sent to him by Lewis. The controversy was continued in writing, when the Spaniard Claudius, to whom Lewis had given the bishopric of Turin, with all the spirit of a true Iconoclast, removed all images from the churches of his diocese, where they had hitherto been revered, and caused them to be destroyed. When these proceedings were reprehended by the abbot Theodemir, Claudius defended himself by this wretched sophism,—“if we are to honour the cross on account of its relation to Christ, so we should honour mangers also, because Christ was laid in one; and asses, because he rode upon one.” Passing, in his violence, further even than the Greek Iconoclasts had gone, he forbade the invocation of saints, as no reliance could be placed

in their prayers; he declared their relics to be as worthless as the bones of animals; and taking Vigilantius as a model, he prohibited lights to be used in churches during the day: he forbade the faithful to pray with their eyes cast down; and finally, he refused to attend a council which had been convened to examine his principles, designating it a council of asses. Dungal, an Irish monk of St. Denis, and Jonas, bishop of Orleans, wrote against him: the arguments of the latter, however, were not strong. Dungal, and after him Walafrid Strabo, and Hincmar of Rheims, stated the true principle, that to images belonged the same veneration that was then shewn in France to the figure of the cross, and to the relics of the saints. This principle, which was most conclusive, must have defeated all others which were then defended by the opposite party, in which was Agobard, bishop of Lyons. The opposition to the decree of the council of Nice, which was founded on a misunderstanding which might have been easily removed, fell of itself away.

SECTION IV.

ADOPTIONISM.*

THE first great controversy which occupied the bishops and theologians of the West, after the emigration of

* Beati (a priest at Astorga) et Etherii (bishop of Osma) de adoptione Filii Dei, adversus Elipandum, lib. ii. in Canisius—Basnage, Thesaur. tom. ii.; Alcuini Libellus adv. Hæresin Felicis, et Epistola ad Felicem; adv. Felicem, lib. vii.; adv. Elipandum, lib. iv.; opp. ed. Frobenius, tom. ii.; Paulini Aquilej. Sacrosyllabus et contra Felicem, lib. iii.; opp. ed. Madrisius, Venet. 1737, fol.; Agobardi, Archiep. Lugdun. adv. dogma Felicis; opp. ed. Balusius, Paris, 1666; The Epistles of Elipandus, in Alcuini opp. tom. ii.; The Declaration of Pope Adrian, the Acts of the Council of Francfort, and the Confessio Fidei of Felix, in Mansi Concil. Collec. tom. xiii.

J. F. Madrisii Dissertat. de Felicis et Elipandi Hæresi, in his edition of Paulinus; J. C. F. Walchii Historia Adoptianorum, Gotting. 1755; Frobesii et Enheuber Dissertat. de Hæresi Elipandi, in Alcuini opp. tom. i.

the northern tribes, was only an echo of that controversy on the personality of Christ, which, ages before, had shaken the entire Church of the East, but which had been scarcely felt in the West. The doctrines of Adoptionism soon betrayed their near relationship with the errors of Nestorianism. Two Spanish bishops, Elipandus of Toledo, and Felix of Urgel, began, in the year 790, to teach that Christ, in his divine nature, was the true, natural son of God,—but that, as man, he was the son of God only by adoption and in name. These doctrines, which probably had their origin in the desire to explain to the Muhammedans of Spain the mystery of the incarnation with the least possible offence, soon found acceptance even amongst bishops, and in a short time travelled over the Pyrenees into Aquitaine. Elipandus, a passionately vehement and haughty man, treated all those who would not receive his doctrines as heretics, who deserved to be banished from their country. Felix, more prudent and more learned, propagated and defended the new doctrines with greater ability. Both appealed to passages in the Mosarabic liturgy, in which the expressions “adopted man,” “adoption of the flesh,” not “adopted son,” were found, and used evidently in the sense of “assumption,” to express the union of the human with the divine nature,—not to designate the relation of the man Christ with the Father. The adversaries who combated these errors by their writings, Beatus, Etherius bishop of Osma, and Paul patriarch of Aquileia, but principally the English monk Alcuin, the most learned amongst the theologians of his age, soon discovered that the Adoptionists had entered into the path of the Nestorians, and employed the same arguments with which Theodore of Mopsueste and Nestorius had formerly endeavoured to defend their heresy. Nestorius had said, and Felix now repeated, that the Logos dwelt, as in a temple, in the man whom it had taken to itself;—that Christ was a man bearing God within him. Christ, who was to be like to men in all things except in sin, was made an adopted son of God

in the same manner that the faithful are made children of God, but in a degree more sublime ; and at his baptism in the Jordan, when the Father spoke these words, "This is my beloved Son," the solemn act of adoption took place. Christ, as Felix expressly taught, did not stand in need of baptism to be purified from sin, but to be thereby spiritually born and regenerated. It is therefore an error to say that the true God was conceived in the womb of the Virgin, or that he who was conceived was the son of God : but the man Christ, the servant, was conceived, and the natural son of God dwells in the adopted son,—the Lord of the servant in the servant. Christ, as man, is indeed called God,—but this is only in name, as other men are sometimes in the Scriptures called Gods ; and as a man may have both a natural and an adopting father, so the man Christ is, according to the flesh, the son of David, but by adoption or by grace the son of God. As man, as the adopted son of God, but not as God, is he our intercessor with the Father, and therefore prayed for himself as well as for us : it is never, as Felix erroneously asserted, stated in the Scriptures that the son of God, but always that the son of man, was given for us. Thus, by this Adoptionist system, was Christ evidently divided, and the mystery of the incarnation attacked in its very essence, although Felix constantly guarded himself against every expression that would argue a division of persons in Christ.

The defenders of the Catholic doctrine, Paulinus and Alcuin, proved, on the contrary, with a degree of theological acumen, and with a knowledge of the ecclesiastical Fathers, which, in that age, may surprise us, that Christ, even in his human nature, is the true (*ιδιος*) Son of God ;—that the sacred Scriptures and the universal Church knew only of an indivisible Son of God, who was Son of God in his human as well as in his divine nature. They remarked : adoption supposes the person adopted to have been before entirely distinct from him who adopts ; but this could not be said of Christ even as man, for there never was a moment in

which he was not God. The mother of the Lord can be called mother of God only so far as that he who was born of her was truly and properly God,—consequently, by nature the Son of God. Sonship is not founded on the nature, but on the person; the two natures do not form two sons, for they are indivisible, and are inseparably united in one Christ: neither nature, distinct from the other, is called son, but the entire Christ is naturally the son of God, and naturally also the son of man. There is, therefore, in Christ no room for an adopted sonship,—for the natural sonship, which must precede adoption, necessarily excludes it.

In Spain, Theodula, bishop of Cordova, pronounced an anathema upon the doctrines of Adoptionism. Pope Adrian also condemned them, in an epistle to the Spanish bishops. As Felix, as bishop of Urgel, belonged to the French kingdom and to the metropolitan province of Narbonne, Charlemagne, in 792, called an assembly of bishops at Ratisbon. Here the doctrines were condemned: Felix renounced them, and promised, confirming his promise with an oath, that he would never again propose them. He did the same before the pope at Rome, whither he had been sent from Ratisbon; but after his return to Urgel, he again fell, under the influence of the Spanish Adoptionists, into errors which he had so solemnly renounced. Eilipand, and the bishops who had imbibed his doctrines, now turned to the French prelates; they wrote also to Charlemagne, and accused the abbot Beatus of being the author of the heresy, which was opposed to their Catholic faith, and which was imputed to them: they, therefore, conjured the king that he would decide according to his justice between Felix and the adherents of Beatus. Charles convened, in 794, at Frankfurt, a numerous council, at which, together with legates of the pope, three hundred bishops from Germany, Gaul, Aquitaine, Britain, and Italy, were present; but neither Felix, nor any of his party, appeared. The judgment of condemnation which was here passed, was sent by the king, together with his own declaration of

approval, to Elipandus and the other Spanish bishops. Adrian called another synod in Rome, in 794, in which the decree of the synod of Francfort was confirmed. The letter of the pope, containing this confirmation, was sent to Charles, and by him to the prelates of Spain. The epistles and the writings which passed between Felix and Alcuin during the next year, appear to have produced no effect : more was done by a conference between them at the synod of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), in 799. After a disputation of seven days, Felix surrendered as vanquished, and a second time swore never again to maintain his past errors. But experience had taught, that full confidence was not to be placed in his asseverations ; he was, therefore, not permitted to return to his diocese, but was delivered to the custody of Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons. He lived at Lyons until 816, but appears to have been attached to his last days to his old opinions ; for after his death a paper was found which contained the Adoptionist theory in its original form. This paper occasioned the archbishop Agabard to write the last work that appeared on this heresy. Alcuin, in the meantime, had answered a bitter and disgraceful work of Elipandus. Charlemagne twice sent the archbishops Leidrad of Lyons, and Nefrid of Narbonne, and Benedict, abbot of Aniana, into the countries infected with Adoptionism, where they laboured with the most happy success, converted ten thousand persons from their errors, and thus destroyed this heresy.

SECTION V.

CONTROVERSIES ON PREDESTINATION, OCCASIONED BY GOTTESCHALC.*

GOTTESCHALC, by birth a Saxon, a monk, first at Fulda, and afterwards in the cloister of Orbais in the diocese

* The works of Ratramnus, Joh. Erigena, Lupus, Florus, Remigius, Prudentius, with the Confessions and Fragments of the Writings

of Soissons, formed to himself a system on Divine predestination similar to that which the priest Lucidus had before abandoned.* God, he asserted, predestined in the same manner to life and to death : by predestination to death, man is so far necessitated to sin, that no one, who is not in the number of the elect, can convert himself or obtain salvation : Christ, therefore, shed his blood only for the elect, and no one who has been redeemed by his blood can be eternally lost. The sacraments also are only for those predestinated to life : for those, who after the reception of them, shall incur condemnation, they are no more than fruitless ceremonies, so that these men, although baptized, are not incorporated with Christ and his Church, and never can become true Christians : for them, therefore, we can only pray that God would use some mercy in the infliction of those punishments, which infallibly await them. Gotteschalc first developed his system during his travels, and made it known to Nothing, bishop of Verona, who being shocked at the novelty, wrote concerning it to the celebrated Rabanus Maurus, who had been archbishop of Mentz since the year 847. Rabanus wrote a refutation of the errors of Gotteschalc, and sent it to the bishop of Verona. Gotteschalc then returned to Germany, where he wrote a work in which he accused Rabanus Maurus of semi-Pelagianism ; but at a great synod at Mentz, in 848, at which king Lewis was present, he delivered a profession of faith, in which he declared that God had irrevocably predestinated to eternal death, all those who should be condemned on account of their sins on the last day. As the synod could not prevail upon him to retract these errors, he was sent to his metropolitan, Hincmar, of Rheims,

of Gotteschalc, in Gilb. Mauguin, *Veterum Auctorum, qui sæculo IX de Prædestinatione et Gratia scripserunt, Opera et Fragmenta*, Paris, 1650, 2 vols. 4to. ; Hincmari Rhemensis *Opera*, ed. Sirmond, 1648, 2 vols. fol.

Cellot, *Historia Godeschalchi*, Paris, 1655, fol. ; Mauguin, *Gotteschalcaneæ Controversiæ Histor. et Chron. Synopsis*, Paris, 1650, 4to.

* See vol. ii. p. 148.

with a synodical epistle, composed by Rabanus Maurus. When in the following year, he showed himself equally obstinate in a council, called by Hincmar, at Quiercy on the Oise, he was there condemned (according to the canon of the council of Agde, and to the rule of St. Benedict, as he had, uncalled, interfered with political and ecclesiastical affairs), to be corporally punished, and to be confined in the cloister of Hautvilliers : he was compelled to cast his writings into the fire, and perpetual silence was imposed upon him. Hincmar sent to him a dogmatical epistle, as a formulary of faith, subscription to which would have procured for him his liberty. But he refused, and opposed to it from his cloister two confessions, a shorter and a longer, in which he carefully avoided all mention of the subject of the controversy, but offered to prove the truth of his doctrines by submitting to the ordeal of fire. His situation, in the meantime, excited great attention. On the one side, together with Rabanus and Hincmar, Pardulus bishop of Laon, and Amolo archbishop of Rheims, also declared against him. Amolo refuted his errors in writing, and severely reprehended him, for his constant outrages upon those bishops who refused to join with him, calling them in contempt heretics and Rabanists, and for his arrogant assumption of infallibility in defending his doctrines. On the other side, several great men appeared as the defenders of Gotteschalc, partly through compassion or through aversion to Hincmar, and partly through their predilection for the doctrine of the twofold predestination of which Gotteschalc appeared to them to be the martyr. The king, Charles the Bald, who delighted in theological controversies of this nature, desired Lupus abbot of Ferriers, and Ratramnus a monk of Corby, to write on the contested doctrines. They did so, but without adopting the severe system of Gotteschalc. Lupus appears, indeed, to have confined the will of God regarding the salvation of all men ; but only so far as this will is not effectual in all men. Ratramnus, and with him the deacon Florus, in the name of the Church of Lyons, and Prudentius bishop of Troyes,

directed their works against the book which the famed John Erigena, by commission of Hincmar, had written, more philosophically than theologically, in refutation of Gotteschalc.

The often-repeated assertion, that Gotteschalc did not profess the errors that were imputed to him, as in his two confessions we find no mention of them, is entirely without foundation. The archbishop Amolo, who cannot be supposed prejudiced in this affair, and to whom Gotteschalc addressed one of his works, found therein contained, in the clearest words, the doctrine of absolute predestination in all its severity, and with all the consequences which we have above enumerated. But there now appeared a new patron of Gotteschalc, the author of the book "On the Three Epistles," that is, against the epistles of Hincmar and Pardulus to Amolo, and the epistle of Rabanus to Nothing. General report attributed this book to the archbishop Remigius, the successor of Amolo; Hincmar ascribed it to Ebbo, bishop of Grenoble. In this work, it was asserted that the only subject of dispute between Gotteschalc and the bishops, was the twofold predestinaton which the former maintained, but which the latter rejected: that the predestination of the wicked was, indeed, very different from that which was taught by Gotteschalc: that their evil works were foreseen, not predestinated, by God: that predestination imposed upon no one the necessity of being wicked, or the impossibility of conversion. The author maintained, also, that it was incredible that Gotteschalc could have taught, as Hincmar asserted, that the free will of man was inclined only to evil, and not at all to good: that it ought not to be declared as an article of faith, that God wishes the salvation of all men, as it was only a pious belief: that Christ did not die for those who should persevere in infidelity, but only for the faithful, and that the assertion of Gotteschalc, that God wishes only the salvation of the elect, ought not to be condemned. This author, it will therefore be seen, endeavoured to open a new path between the doctrine of Gotteschalc and the refutations of its adver-

saries ; he imagined that the system of the monk of Orbais had been misunderstood or misrepresented ; but he, at the same time, rejected in substance, the doctrine of the Church, that God wishes the salvation of all men. But he and his adversaries would not have been so far separated on this subject from each other, if they understood predestination to be a preceding, conditional will of God, and if he rejected the assertion of an absolute, subsequent, and effectual will of God.

Hincmar, who had made known the affair of Gotteschalc to the pope, and had left the fate of the monk to his decision, held, in 853, by the command of the king, Charles, a second synod at Quiercy, at which the metropolitans of Sens and of Tours were present. Here were presented four articles on the contested dogma. They asserted ; there is but one predestination, of which the object is either the conferring of grace, or the reward of justice : that the will of man, to do good, requires preventing (antecedent) and assisting grace : that God wishes all men, without exception, to be saved, and that Christ died for all men, although not all will be, in effect, saved by his sufferings. Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, who assisted at this council, and who subscribed to its definitions, seems soon to have repented of his act, and made known his change of sentiments in a manner that was most unbecoming. He submitted to Æneas, the newly-elected bishop of Paris, four articles for his signature, upon which condition only, he would consent to acknowledge him. In these articles it was declared, that the blood of Christ was shed only for those who believed in him, and that God wishes for the salvation of those only who shall obtain it. More direct opposition was shown by the bishops of Lorraine, where, principally from political motives, Hincmar was not held in favour. A new work, by the author of the book "On the Three Epistles," appeared in 855, entitled "On preserving the Truth of Scripture," which, like the former, according to a clausula, which was added later, was written in the name of the Church of Lyons. In it the bishops of the synod of

Quiercy were accused with bitterness, that they had decreed against the most evident truths contained in the Scriptures and in the writings of the fathers. Against the four articles of that council, was poured out a torrent of reprehensions, arising from distortions or from wilful misunderstanding of their signification. Then came the council of Valence, in 855, formed of the archbishops of Arles and Vienne, and of which Ebbo of Grenoble was the animating soul. In this council six canons were drawn up, the forms of which were opposed to that of the articles of Quiercy: these articles were, at length, expressly rejected by the bishops at Valence. The opposition regarded chiefly the single predestination, defended by the bishops of Quiercy: at Valence a twofold predestination, to life and to death, was asserted, but with this modification, that God predestinates to punishment, not to sin: next to this came the doctrine on the death of Christ. The doctrine of the opponents of Gotteschalc was, that Christ had redeemed all men by his blood, even those infidels that had been condemned, and that this precious blood might be applied to all men of all ages, whilst the bishops at Quiercy wished to assert, by their proposition, that Christ had died for all, no more, than that the sacrifice of the sufferings and death of Christ, was, from its infinite value, and according to the will of Christ, sacrificed, sufficient for the redemption of all men. This the prelates at Valence did not deny, although they designated the opinion of the Universalists, the asserters of an universal redemption, as a monstrous error.

Hincmar replied to them in a great work, which is now lost, "On Predestination and Free Will." But it appears that the bishops themselves were soon convinced that, in condemning the four Articles, which they appended as a clause to their fourth dogmatical canon, they had gone too far. For in the copy of the acts of their synod, which Ebbo, in 856, presented to king Charles, this clause is not found: it was omitted also, when the canons were read, at the synod of

Langres, in 859 ; and in that of Savonieres, where the bishops of the three kingdoms were united, many of them protested against the confirmation of the canons of Valence, whilst it appears that the four Articles were admitted without opposition. It was here agreed that the controversy should be definitively determined by a great council. In the interval before its convocation, Hincmar, to whom the king had sent the canons of the synod of Langres, with a commission to express to him in writing his opinion on them, wrote his great work, which we still possess, "On Predestination." In this work he asserted the genuineness of the book ascribed to St. Augustine, entitled *Hypognosticon*, (which might have been attributed to Marius Mercator), although Prudentius and Remigius had before incontrovertibly proved that St. Augustine could not have been the author of the work. The declaration of the partial Prudentius, contained in the Bertinian Annals, that the pope, Nicholas, had approved of the canons of Valence, appears to have been without foundation. Prudentius must have taken the silence of the pontiff for approbation. At length the controversy was terminated, in 860, by the council of Touzy, in the diocese of Toul. Here there were assembled fifty-seven bishops, from fourteen French provinces : amongst them were the prelates who had before met at Valence, and those also who had before formed the synod of Quiercy. Without entering upon long discussions, the bishops received a synodical epistle, presented to them by Hincmar, in which no mention was made either of the decrees of Valence or Quiercy, but in which it was merely stated, that there is a predestination of the elect ; that free-will exists, even after the fall of Adam, but that it stands in need of grace to assist it in its weakness ; that God wishes the salvation of all men, and that Christ was subjected to the law of death for all. Gotteschalc, who had in the meantime appealed, but in vain, to the pope, joined not in this act of peace, but remained in his cloister-prison. When visited by a severe sickness, Hincmar

sent to him a formula of faith, by subscribing which he might be restored to the communion of the Church ; but he sent it back, and preferred to die excommunicated and without the sacraments.

SECTION VI.

TRANSACTIONS CONCERNING THE EUCHARIST IN THE NINTH CENTURY.*

THE doctrine on the eucharist had been unassailed down to the ninth century. Only a few solitary powerless voices had been raised against the Catholic faith of the real presence, or of the essential changes in this sacrament ; and hence it is, that none of the fathers found themselves necessitated to write expressly on this dogma, or to defend it against the objections of adversaries. They were content in their catechetical discourses, which were intended for the instruction of the neophytes, to declare and to explain the faith of the Church ; which was, that by the substantial change of the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ were present in the sacrament of the eucharist.

Paschasius Radbertus, a monk, and, from the year 844, the abbot of the cloister of Corbey, wrote in 831, and published in 844, for the instruction of the Saxon youths who were educated in his abbey, a treatise on the sacrament of the eucharist. In this work, he had no other view, than to present to his readers the faith of the universal Church ; but, supporting himself on the authority of St. Ambrose, he asserted that the body of

* Paschasii Radberti de Sacramento Eucharistiæ, in Martene's Coll. Ampliss. Monum. tom. ix. ; Rabani Mauri Epistola ad Heribaldum, in Canisius—Basnage, Thesaur. tom. ii. ; Dicta ejusdam Sapientis de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, in Mabillon's Acta SS. O. S. Benedicti, Sæc. IV, tom. i. 591 ; Flori, Epistolæ adv. Amalarium, in Martene's Coll. Ampliss. tom. ix. ; Ratramnus de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, ed. Boileau, Paris, 1712 ; Gerbertus de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, in Pezii Anecd. tom. i. pt. ii.

our Lord in the eucharist was in every respect the same with that which was conceived in the womb of the Holy Virgin, which was born and crucified. At this proposition his contemporaries took offence. They maintained that the body of the Lord in the eucharist has properties which were not common to that body which was visible on this earth. A distinction must, therefore, be made, as the assertion of a perfect identity would lead to the ideas of the Capharnaïtes. Appealing to various passages in the writings of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, they distinguished a twofold, or rather a threefold, body of Christ, the natural, the sacramental, and the mystical body of the Church. This distinction was maintained by the unknown author of the *Dicta cujusdam Sapientis*, whose work was published by Mabillon, and by the author, also unknown, of a fragment on the same subject. The body of Christ in the eucharist, is, they said, in nature one with the body that was born of the Blessed Virgin ; but in its form of appearance (*specialiter*) it is different. The same idea was afterwards expressed by Alger, who maintained a duplicity of the body of Christ, not in substance, but in form. Less clear is the proposition of the first-mentioned theologian, that the body of Christ, which is produced by the words of consecration, is afterwards changed by the prayer of the priest, into the body that was born of the Virgin Mother, and that in this manner Christ gives to the members of his body (the faithful) his body of his body. Heriger, abbot of Lobes, and Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz, also wrote against the doctrine of Radbertus on the identity of the body of Christ ; but their writings have been lost. This, however, is certain, that on the subject of transubstantiation, Rabanus was in perfect agreement with Radbertus.

In another manner was the triplicity of the body of Christ defended by Amalarius, a priest of Metz. He probably drew his ideas from the assertion frequently to be found in the fathers, and which had been repeated by Radbertus, that the body of the Lord in the eucharist nourishes not only the soul, but the body also

of man ; that it prepares it for immortality and incorruption. From this, he concluded that the eucharist was commingled with the flesh and blood of the Christian, and that it was united inseparably with the same, even after death. He, therefore, distinguished between the natural body of Christ, and the eucharistic, as it exists in the living Christian, and as it exists again in the Christian after death. But Amalarius did not admit of an essential difference in these bodies, for he expressly states, that the blood which flowed from the side of our Lord, is the same with that which is received from the chalice. Florus opposed himself to the system of Amalarius, and procured the condemnation of it in a synod of Quiercy, in 837. But Amalarius gave greater offence, by an expression in which he seemed to favour the system of Stercoranism, or the opinion that the holy eucharist was subject to the same decomposition in the human body that is undergone by our corporeal food. Rabanus Maurus also drew upon himself the accusation of being attached to the same opinion, by his weak answer to a question on this subject, proposed to him by Heribald bishop of Auxerre. To others, this error appeared reprehensible only in its consequence, as it would argue that there was contained in the flesh of Christ a physical nourishment, and that it was absorbed by the body of the communicant. From this time, we find this opinion mentioned as a system in the writings of theologians. Thus Gerbert, afterwards pope, with the name of Sylvester II, in his work on the eucharist, enumerates three opinions ; that of the Sterconarists, which could not be maintained ; that of Radbertus, that at the altar was received the same identical body that was born of the Holy Virgin ; and that of the opponents of Radbertus, that the eucharistic body of Christ was not in every respect identical with his natural body. Gerbertus himself taught, that between the two latter opinions, there was no essential difference ; and that in one sense, it might with full propriety be maintained that the sacramental body of Christ is the same that was born of the blessed Mary.

But about the middle of the ninth century there appeared a work on the eucharist, the name of the author of which was for a long time uncertain : it was sometimes ascribed to Ratramnus, the monk of Corbey, sometimes to an unknown, Bertram, and at others to Joannes Erigena. That this work was the production of Ratramnus, cannot be doubted, if we believe the testimonies of Gerbert, Siegbert, the unknown writer of Mölk, and of the manuscripts seen by Mabillon. It has, indeed, been more frequently asserted that Joannes Erigena was the author ; and, in fact, a work, supposed to have been written by this Irishman, on the eucharist, and to which Berengarius afterwards appealed, was condemned at a synod of Paris, and was burnt at Vercelli ; but what is related of this book corresponded so exactly with the known work of Ratramnus, that we may almost conclude that Erigena never wrote upon the eucharist ; and that the work of the monk of Corby was erroneously ascribed to him. The book, of which we now speak, is very obscure, both as it regards the adversary whom it undertakes to refute, and the object which it proposes to itself. This adversary is made to say, that between the external and internal of the sacrament, there is no distinction ; that the body of Christ has in reality the form that is presented to the senses ; that in the sacrament, therefore, all is without figure or veil ; and that what is perceived by the senses is not different from that which faith discovers. From this, it would seem to follow that the body of our Lord would be broken in pieces when we divide the sacrament, either with our hands or with our teeth. This latter opinion was attributed to some of the Greeks, and, in particular, to John of Damascus, in consequence of his assertion, that in the eucharist there is no figure or sign ; and also to Haimo, bishop of Halberstadt, who had expressed himself in like manner, but less clearly on this subject, but not to Paschasius Radbertus, with whom Ratramnus agreed in many points. Ratramnus easily refuted this proposition, showing, that if it were true, faith would not be exer-

cised in the eucharist; that that which was externally seen was not the thing itself (*res sacramenti*), but only its form, and that what was known to exist internally was the truth, the reality, of the thing. But when we arrive at that part of the work in which we might expect an explanation of the mystery, the language is obscure, equivocal, and confused. On the one hand, the author appears to admit, in the sense of the Church, a substantial change of the bread into the body of Christ, by the words of consecration; on the other, he awakens within us the suspicion, that, in his idea, not the substance of the body of Christ, but the Divine Logos, which supplies the place of the flesh of Christ, is given in the sacrament. He wanders so far as to assert that the Israelites received the body of Christ in the manna; and that the mystical body of Christ, the Church, is contained in the eucharist, in the same manner as is his true and natural body. We cannot free Ratramnus from the charge of great and striking contradictions, and it appears that he saw fully how little his doctrine was in harmony with the doctrines of the Church, or how arbitrary and forced were the explanations which he endeavours to give to these doctrines, that he endeavours to conceal by artifice the chasm which was between his own ideas and the Catholic dogma, and that he only occasionally suffered his real opinions to escape.*

* A curious manuscript has lately been found in the Vatican library at Rome, containing a commentary of Scotus upon the *Monarchia Cælestis* of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, in which his ideas, as there expressed, concerning the Eucharist, are certainly erroneous. "Intuere, quam pulcre, quam expresse asserit, *visibilem hanc Eucharistiam, quam quotidie sacerdotes ecclesiæ in altari conficiunt ex sensibili materia panis et vini, quam confectam et sanctificatam corporaliter accipiunt, typicam esse similitudinem spiritualis principationis Jesu, quam fideliter solo intellectu gustamus,*" &c. &c. See an interesting work, "The German Pöpes," (*Die Deutschen Päpste*, 2 abth. p. 80) by Const. Höfler, who asserts that Scotus, not Berengarius, was the first author of the Protestant errors on the Eucharist.—(Translator.)

SECTION VII.

BERENGARIUS OF TOURS.*

MORE decided, and beyond all doubt heretical, was the doctrine of Berengarius on the eucharist. This man, who was born most probably at Tours, and was a scholar of the famed Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, afterwards Scholasticus, or director of the cathedral school of Tours, which, under his care, rose to high distinction, was, in 1040, appointed archdeacon of Angers. He was eloquent, a skilful dialectician, learned for his age, of pure morals, and had already acquired many warm friends amongst the most celebrated men of the French Church, when, after long studies in grammar and dialectics, he turned his attention to studies of theology. His first errors were in his attacks against marriage and the baptism of children; and when he had abandoned these questions, he assailed the doctrine of the Church on the eucharist. In tracing his error to its source, we are greatly assisted by a remark of the abbot Wolphelm, and of the bishop Guitmond, who state that he denied that the body of Christ, after the resurrection, could pass through closed doors into the room in which the apostles were assembled. From this we may perceive that he did not at all understand the properties of a glorified and spiritualized body, its contractive and expansive powers, by virtue of which it may make

* The writings of Lanfranc, Guitmund, Hugo bishop of Langres, Theoduin, and Durandus, in the *Biblioth. Max. PP.* tom. xviii.; Adelmanni de *Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini ad Berengarium* Epistola, ed. C. A. Schmid, Brunsvici, 1770; Eusebii Brunonis *Epistola ad Berengarium*, ed. Fr. De Roye, in his *Vita Hæresis et Pœnitentia Berengarii*, Andegavi, 1656, 4to.; The *Epistles and Confessions of Berengarius*, and the *Acts of the Synods that were held against him*, in *Mansi Collect. Concill.* tom. xix.; *Berengarii de S. Cœna adversus Lanfrancum, liber posterior*, ed. A. et F. Th. Vischer, Berolin, 1834; Bernaldus Constantiensis de *Berengarii multiplici Condemnatione*, in the *Raccolta Ferrarese di Opuscoli*, tom. xxi. Venezia, 1789; Second Part, p. 77 et seqq. Regensburg, 1839.

itself now manifest and now invisible; its superiority over nature, by which it can penetrate and rule all baser matter, and by a closer connexion and relation with it, can convert it into its own substance; and that consequently, the mystery of the real presence and of transubstantiation was to him unintelligible.

As soon as the rumour of the error of Berengarius first was spread abroad, Adelmann, superior of the school at Liege, and, in 1048, bishop of Brescia, wrote to him, in 1045 and in 1047, and announced to him that already the whole of Germany had been scandalized by his innovations. Hugo also, bishop of Langres, and formerly a school-fellow of Berengarius, addressed to him a treatise on the presumption of attempting to reconcile the mystery of the eucharist with our understanding, and of looking upon it, as Berengarius himself said, with eyes different from those of the multitude. But Berengarius now openly proclaimed, in letters to Lanfranc, then director of the cloister school of Bec, in Normandy, that on the eucharist he fully adopted the opinions of Joannes Erigena,—that he rejected those of Paschasius Radbertus,—and concluded by inviting Lanfranc to a disputation on this subject. These letters were read in the synod of Rome, in 1050, and were the immediate cause of the excommunication of Berengarius. The presence of Berengarius in Normandy induced the duke, William, to call a conference at Brionne, in which two monks of the abbey of Bec so far overcame Berengarius and his companions, as to oblige them to profess, in words at least, the true Catholic doctrine. It is probable that Berengarius granted in this conference, as he was accustomed to acknowledge elsewhere, that in the eucharist a change was effected by the words of consecration, but that he understood by this change something very different from the belief of the assembly, which thought a profession of transubstantiation to be contained in the words of Berengarius. In the meantime, he heard of his condemnation at Rome, and therefore, in his letter to the clergy of

Chartres, poured out his most bitter indignation on the pope and the Roman Church, which he accused of direct heresy. At another council, which the pope Leo IX held at Vercelli, in 1050, the doctrine of Berengarius, together with the book attributed to Joannes Erigena, was condemned. Berengarius, although invited, did not appear,—his excuse being that he was held in confinement by the king of France. About the same time, the king of France called the bishops of his dominions to a council at Paris, although Theoduin, bishop of Liege, had written to him to state that the evident falsehood of the new doctrine, which attacked a dogma of the Church that had long been defined, and always universally believed, rendered the convocation of a council (for which the consent of the pope was required) unnecessary. Berengarius refused to attend this council also ; but a letter from him to Paulinus, the primicerius of Metz, was read, and his heresy, as contained in that letter, condemned. The resolution that it was necessary to raise a French army to suppress the new sect, proves that Berengarius had already drawn around him a large body of adherents. At a synod which was held at Tours, in 1054, by the papal legates Hildebrand and Gerhard, Berengarius made a profession of faith, in which he solemnly declared that he believed that the bread and wine were changed by the words of consecration into the body and blood of Christ, and affirmed upon oath that he inwardly believed what he outwardly professed. He has himself, in his forced narration of this transaction, so represented Hildebrand, as if this legate of the pontiff esteemed him orthodox, and as if he desired only that Berengarius could convince the pope and the French bishops that his faith was the faith of the Church. And well he might deceive Hildebrand, whose whole attention and activity were, at this time, turned from theological questions to the great practical subject of the reformation of abuses which had forced themselves into the Church. Berengarius too well knew how to employ all the arts of hypocritical sophistry, where he foresaw

that they would prevail. He asserted that he believed and taught the change, effected by the words of consecration, of the bread into the body of Christ, and complained of the injustice that was done to him by those who could doubt of his belief; whilst, in truth, according to his doctrine there was no change, but the bread and wine continued to be what they had always been. To those of whose protection he stood in need, he declared that he attacked only the harsh Capharnaite opinions of some men; and with evident bad faith, he represented the doctrines of his adversaries as if they taught that, by the consecration, a portion of the flesh of Christ was brought down upon the altar, and placed there instead of the bread; whilst he himself, as he said, asserted the change of the bread and wine into the entire body and entire blood of Christ.

In 1059, the new pope, Nicholas II, convened a council in Rome, at which there were present one hundred and thirteen bishops. Berengarius also appeared, and was compelled to burn his own writings, and to subscribe, confirming his sincerity with an oath, a profession of faith that had been drawn up by bishop Humbert. The contents of this profession were, that the bread and wine after consecration were not only a sacrament, but also the true body and blood of Christ; and that this body is not only present in the sacrament, but is, in truth, touched and broken by the hands of the priest and by the teeth of the faithful. It was only by this means that the council thought itself able to hold fast this wily sophist. The harshly sounding expressions of this profession are to be justified by the intimate union of the external sign with the body of Christ, which union produces a communication of properties (*communicatio idiomatum*), in the same manner as the union of the two natures; so that that which is ascribed to the sign may, in a certain sense, be predicated of the body which is concealed beneath it. In this sense, some of the fathers, and in particular St. John Chrysostom, had spoken of touching the body of our Lord.

After his return to France, Berengarius declared that only the fear of death, with which he had been threatened, had induced him to swear to the above declaration, and he wreaked his revenge upon his adversaries, by pouring upon them the bitterness of his abuse, and upon the apostolic see, which he designated as the seat of Satan. The pope, Alexander II, in 1061, exhorted him with kindness again to renounce errors which brought with them confusion into the Church. But Berengarius sent, in reply, an answer of haughtiness and scorn. Soon after this, the bishops of Normandy also rejected the doctrine which opposed the dogma of the substantial change in the eucharist. Durandus, abbot of Troarn and Lanfranc, wrote especial works in defence of this change. Eusebius Bruno, bishop of Angers, who had been suspected of participating in the errors of Berengarius, and who had promised him his protection, now confessed, in a letter to Berengarius, that the bread and wine were changed by the words of consecration into the body and blood of Christ. In proof of the possibility of this, he adduced the fact of our Lord's body, after the resurrection, having passed through closed doors; he names the new doctrine a pest, which a short time before had been condemned by a synod in the chapel of the count of Anjou, at which he (Eusebius) and the archbishop of Besançon had been present. About the year 1070, Berengarius wrote his book (which has been lately printed) against Lanfranc. In the year 1075, and 1076, his heresy was condemned in the synods of St. Maxient and Poitiers; at the latter place, indignation against him arose to such a height, that his life was endangered; at St. Maxient he condemned his errors, and professed himself, as hypocritically as ever, a sincere believer in the Catholic faith. Hildebrand, now pope Gregory VII, called Berengarius to Rome, and in a synod, convened in that city in 1078, required him simply to declare that the bread, after the consecration, was the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary. But many of the bishops represented to the pontiff, that

Berengarius had oftentimes before made a similar declaration, and had always known how to unite with it his own errors. At the next Roman synod, in 1079, at which some few bishops favoured his doctrines, but were reduced to silence by the majority of their opponents, he was compelled to sign a formula, which contained these words: "that the bread and wine were changed according to their substance into the body and blood of Christ;" words which seemed to admit of no further subterfuge. But Berengarius was able to obscure things the most clear. From this formula he drew a signification directly contrary to its intent, namely, that the substance of the bread remained unchanged. But a greater humiliation to his pride than the signing of the formula could be, was the declaration which the pontiff exacted from him, that he had hitherto been in error on the mystery of the eucharist. Lamenting that the Almighty had withdrawn from him the gift of fortitude, he surrendered at length through fear of excommunication and of the indignation of the people, and returned to his native country with letters of safe conduct and testimonials of his orthodoxy from the pope. After his return from Rome, he composed a work on the two Roman synods, replete with the bitterest insults and calumnies against those who had acted against him. He represented, in particular, the conduct of the pope, in a manner that is in direct contradiction with the historically well-known character of Gregory; that in wavering inconstancy he had hesitated in his choice of doctrine, that he had commanded a monk to obtain by revelation from the Virgin Mary instruction how he was to act in the cause of Berengarius, and that, contrary to his own inclination, and to the advice which he had received from heaven, he had yielded to the compulsory persuasion of a few bishops.

Again, in 1080, did Berengarius defend himself before a synod at Bourdeaux. Guitmund, a scholar of Lanfranc, and afterwards bishop of Aversa, now opposed the doctrines of Berengarius in a learned work. During the last years of his life, Berengarius retired to

the island of St. Côme, near Tours. He lived there in solitude and repentance, and died, according to an ancient tradition of the country, and the testimony of his contemporaries, in the true faith of the Church. Berthold of Constance, whose authority, on account of comparatively recent date, is of little value, is the only author who asserts the contrary.

According to Berengarius, the words of institution are not to be taken in their literal sense; and even if it be correct to say, that the bread is changed into the true body of Christ, we are to understand a change that does not take from the bread its nature, but which ennobles it and imparts to it a high virtue, as the water of baptism, without ceasing to be water, receives a sacramental power by which it regenerates the souls of men, and is so far indeed changed. By the mouth, the sacrament, that is, the bread and wine, is received; by the heart, or spiritually, the virtue of the sacrament, the virtue of the body and blood of Christ, is received; only the faithful, therefore, and not the wicked, are made partakers of this sacred food. Hence, when Berengarius speaks of a change which is effected in the eucharist, he speaks not in the strict sense of the word, for he understands thereby such a change only as is effected in the other sacraments, by the consecration of the matter, as of the water or of the oil. If he speaks of the presence of the *true* body of Christ, he wishes to assert no more than that, being far removed from the Manichean error of a merely apparent body of Christ, he admits a real and glorified body, but which is not really present in the eucharist, either by consecration or by an union with the bread; for he imagines that after the consecration, the bread represents the body of Christ, and that by means of the bread, the faithful receives something analogous to the body of Christ. The doctrine of the real presence might indeed be drawn from many passages of the writings of Berengarius, from such, for example, in which he speaks of a real oblation of the body of Christ in the sacrifice of the mass. But Berengarius, as he had not introduced any new

mode of speech, no terminology accommodated to his own system, but employed the received language of the Church, oftentimes says more than he, in fact, believed. He often clothed his ideas in an ecclesiastical, Catholic, dress, of which when they were stripped, they revealed themselves in a system not far removed from the doctrines of Calvin. This obscurity, and his evident endeavour to accommodate himself to the then prevailing forms of expression, contributed much to the errors which prevailed amongst his followers. Only on one subject were the Berengarians unanimous,—in the rejection of a substantial change in the matter of the holy sacrament; in other things they divided themselves into many sects. One party would admit of nothing more than a simple figure of the body of Christ in the eucharist, another asserted a real presence of the body of Christ with the bread, a kind of impanation; some believed in a partial change of the bread and wine, whilst others taught that the body and blood of Christ were really in the eucharist, but that for the wicked, who received it, it was no more than bread and wine.

Those who opposed Berengarius, appealed with firm confidence to the universal belief of the Church in the doctrine of transubstantiation. They declared that the doctrine of Berengarius was new and unknown in the Church, and to be found nowhere but in the writings of Erigena. And, in fact, Berengarius himself supported his system by no other authority, if we except a few passages from the writings of the fathers, than by the works of this Irish writer. The Berengarians declared that the Church, by the ignorance of its bishops, had fallen into error, and that the true Church was to be found only amongst them. But they were, and they continued to be during their short-lived existence, like the Pelagians before them, only a school. Their teacher never addressed his doctrine to the people; he directed his writings only to the learned, and hence there never was a sect of Berengarians separated from the Church.

SECTION VIII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE ORIENTAL SCHISM.—
IGNATIUS AND PHOTIUS.*

ALREADY had ecclesiastical communion between the east and the west been more than once interrupted. This, as we have seen, occurred after the council of Sardica, again in the schism of the patriarch Acacius, and during the temporary prevalence of Monotheletism. But these separations, as they originated in dogmatical controversies, were closed again by the triumph of orthodoxy. From the end, however, of the seventh century, there had been collecting, by degrees, seeds of dissension, which sooner or later would produce a more serious division, as, in addition to them, the different development of the two Churches, or rather the ever-increasing degeneracy of the Greek Church, opposed to the vigorous life which now began to display itself in the Churches of the west, necessarily widened the breach between the west and the east. The ambition of the patriarchs of Constantinople had occasioned the disputes on the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon, and on the title of “universal patriarch;” and whilst these prelates were in a state of the most oppressive dependence on the humour and caprice of an immoral court, and often condescended to be made the disgraceful instruments of a tyranny founded on military dominion, of a crowd of women and of eunuchs, they were ena-

* Nicetæ Davidis Vita S. Ignatii, in Mansi Conc. Collect. tom. xvi.; Photii Epistolæ, ed. Montacutius, Londini, 1651, fol.; The Epistles of the Popes, the Acts of the Synods of 869 and 879, and fragments of other Acts, in Mansi, tom. xv. xvi. xvii.; Æneæ Episcopi Parisiensis Liber adversus objectiones Græcorum, and Ratramni Libri IV contra Græcorum opposita, in D'Achery Spicileg. tom. i.

Laurentii Cozza Historia Polemica de Græcorum Schismate, Romæ, 1719, 4 vols. fol.; Stephani de Altimura (Mich. Le Quien) Panoplia contra Schisma Græcorum, Paris, 1718, 4to.; Leo Allatus de Ecclesiæ Occid. et Orient. perpetua Consensione, Colon. 1648, 4to.

bled, by the favour and the support of the same court, to raise their own power over the bishops of their patriarchate to the height of a monarchical despotic sway. These bishops would then follow in the same way which led their patriarchs to ambition and to pride.

In the year 691, the synod of the Trullo, so called from the chamber of the imperial palace in which it was convened, was held at Constantinople. The last two œcumenical councils, the fifth and the sixth, had occupied themselves only with questions of faith: the Trullan council wished, therefore, to provide for the wants of ecclesiastical discipline by a series of canons; it was thence considered as a supplement to the two preceding synods, and was named by the Latins the Quinisext, by the Greeks the *συνόδος πενθεκτη*. It appeared as if the bishops of this synod, in their fastidiousness on the subject of the superiority of the Church of Rome in matters of faith, in which the authority of this Church had always triumphed, wished to maintain their own independence in subjects of discipline, and, as it were, to revenge themselves, by their disapprobation of many practices of the western Church, on that superiority which their Grecian vanity so unwillingly endured. Thus, without any apparent cause for their proceeding, they in their first canon confirmed the African synods which were held in the time of St. Cyprian, and which declared invalid the baptism of heretics and schismatics; and in evident contradiction to their own act, they forbade, in their ninety-fifth canon, baptism to be readministered to converted Arians, Macedonians, Apollinarists, and other heretics. In their thirteenth canon they reprehended the celibacy of the western clergy, and in the fifty-fifth and eighty-ninth, they condemned the fast of Saturday, which was practised in the Roman Church, as forbidden by the sixty-sixth of the apostolical canons. The popes immediately declared, that of the two hundred and two canons of this synod, they would sanction only those which were in accordance with the decrees of earlier pontiffs and the approved discipline of the western Church. It was in vain, there-

fore, that Justinian II used every endeavour, probably at the instigation of the patriarch, to induce the pontiff, Sergius, to sign the acts of this synod.

Soon after this, the Iconoclast controversy arose. The Isaurian Leo wrested from the Roman patriarchate the Illyrian provinces, and subjected them to the patriarch of Constantinople. During the celebration of the second council of Nice, pope Adrian demanded that the Roman patrimonies and these provinces should be restored to his patriarchal jurisdiction ; but he demanded in vain. The representations of a later pontiff, Nicholas I, met with no better success. The Greeks afterwards declared that these provinces had been given to the bishop of Constantinople, because the pope of ancient Rome had passed under the dominion of barbarian nations, the Lombards and the Franks.

To the consciousness of an injury inflicted was now added the indignation at one supposed to have been received, namely, the restoration, by the popes, of the western empire, and the fall of the Grecian power in Italy. But during the Iconoclast controversy, the supremacy of the Roman pontiff was confessed in the clearest terms by the Greek Catholics. The principal reason adduced by them for their rejection of the council of 754 was, that the pontiff had not confirmed its acts, without whose confirmation, they said, nothing could be valid in ecclesiastical affairs. Such was the declaration of the martyr Stephen the Younger, and of the bishops assembled at Nice. The patriarch Nicephorus, in his *Antirrheticus*, against the Iconoclasts, defended the legitimacy of the second council of Nice, on the ground that it had been sanctioned by the see of ancient Rome, which had presided over it, which sanction was necessary for the validity of an ecclesiastical decision. In many ways, and in the strongest terms, was the same principle enforced by Theodore the Studite : he complained that the party of the Iconoclasts had separated themselves from the see of Peter, to whom Christ had given the keys of faith, and that they had thereby divided themselves from the body of Christ. He there-

fore insisted, that a new synod should be called by the authority of the pope, upon which the dignity of an œcumenical council depended, or that both parties should send delegates to Rome, that in conformity with ancient tradition, the see of that city might decide on the controversy on sacred images.

The monk Ignatius,* son of the emperor Michael Rangabè, was chosen in 846, by the unanimous election of the clergy and people, to succeed the deceased patriarch Methodius. A prelate of such sincere piety and firmness of mind must necessarily soon come into conflict with a court sunk into the depths of the lowest vice, and as it was ever in the east, must as necessarily be overcome. The young emperor, Michael, whom his uncle Bardas had formed into a worthless voluptuary, added to his excesses mockery of religion : he appointed a buffoon as patriarch in his palace : he profaned the most sacred mysteries with unheard-of impieties, and loaded the patriarch Ignatius, and his own mother, with ignominious opprobrium. The bishops of the imperial city had long been unaccustomed to employ against the emperors, whatever their conduct might have been, the spiritual arms of religion ; but Ignatius thought that this forbearance should not be observed towards the Cæsar, Bardas. Bardas had divorced himself from his lawful wife, and lived in a state of scandalous incest with his step-daughter ; Ignatius, therefore, after repeated warnings, excommunicated him. It was now resolved at court to oblige the empress Theodora and her daughters, the mother and the sisters of Michael, to put on the religious veil : the refusal of Ignatius to co-operate in this act of violence embittered against him the mind of the young emperor, and presented to the all-powerful Bardas an occasion of wreaking his revenge upon him. False testimonies to criminate him were not wanting : he was accused of acting in league with a madman named Gedeon, who pretended to be a

* See the life of St. Ignatius, in Butler's Lives of the Saints, Oct. 23.

son of Theodore, and laid claim therefore to the imperial crown. He was banished to the island of Terebinthus; whither bishops and patricians were sent to induce him to resign his patriarchate, but without effect. The opposition of many bishops, who strongly defended their adherence to the holy patriarch, determined Bardas to offer to each the patriarchal dignity, upon the condition that each one should seem to decline it. They were ensnared by this artifice; but they were taken at their word, and a layman named Photius, a member of the imperial family, and first secretary, was, in 858, appointed patriarch. He was the most learned man of his age, but of unbounded ambition, not untouched by the corruption of the court, and well versed in all the arts of its intrigue. In six days after his nomination he received the episcopal consecration. Gregory Asbestas, archbishop of Syracuse, whom Methodius had excommunicated and Ignatius had deposed, allowed himself to be persuaded to consecrate the new patriarch. The bishops who were at Constantinople were induced to acknowledge him, but not before he had solemnly promised them, in writing, to spare Ignatius, and to honour him as his father. But the contrary to this occurred. Ignatius steadfastly refused to resign: he was therefore treated with ignominy, and even suffered from blows inflicted on him by his enemies, whilst a more severe doom awaited those who in Constantinople still adhered to him, or who refused to enter into communion with Photius. Photius himself complained, in his letter to Bardas, of the severities to which priests were subjected, but he afterwards went further on the path which others had opened. A synod at Constantinople declared Photius excommunicated, but the greater number of the bishops were afterwards seduced to his party, either by promises or threats: only five persisted in their refusal to acknowledge him, for which they were deposed, imprisoned, and, lastly, banished. Photius and Bardas, in the meantime, called an assembly of their partisans, which deposed Ignatius, on three grounds,—the invalidity of his election, the illegality of

his consecration, and his pretended conspiracy against the emperor.

Nothing was more important to Photius than to obtain the recognition of the Roman pontiff. An imposing embassy of bishops, at whose head was an uncle of the emperor, went with rich presents to Rome. They related that Ignatius had resigned, on account of his great age; an assertion that was contradicted by the letter which they presented to the pope, and which stated that Ignatius had been deposed by a synod. The pope was requested also to send legates to Constantinople, to attend a council in which the controversy respecting sacred images was to be terminated, and canons of ecclesiastical discipline formed. Photius, in an epistle to the pontiff, represented, in a tone of feigned humility and complaint, the violence that had been used to oblige him to receive the patriarchate. Nicholas, the pope, who was not sufficiently informed of the true state of affairs, acted with prudence. In his answer, he contented himself with reprehending the uncanonical and rapid elevation of Photius from the state of a layman to the highest ecclesiastical dignity; and he commissioned his legates, Zacharias bishop of Anagni, and Rodvald bishop of Porto, first to gain true information, and to withhold themselves from all communion with Photius. In his letter to the emperor, the pontiff complained that Ignatius had been deposed without any consultation with the see of Rome, and that a layman had been ordained in his place: he required that the patriarch should be heard; that his cause should be examined in a synod to be holden by his legates, upon whose report he would determine. But the legates had received, whilst on their journey, presents from the emperor and from Photius. When arrived in the imperial city, they were lodged in the palace, in a kind of honourable custody, and carefully prevented from all communication from without. Unceasingly assailed, for three months, by allurements and threats, they yielded at length, and promised to ratify, in a synod, the election of Photius and the deposition of Ignatius.

This synod, at which there were present three hundred and eighteen bishops, was opened, in 861, by the papal legates. The letter of the pope was only so far read as it seemed to favour the party, and even in these passages it was falsified. Against Ignatius, who was compelled to appear, the thirtieth of the apostolical canons, which decreed that a bishop who had attained his dignity by means of the civil power should be deposed, was made to bear: seventy-two suborned witnesses swore that Ignatius, who had been for twelve years acknowledged as lawful patriarch by all Churches and bishops, by the people and the court, had procured his election by uncanonical practices. Ignatius appealed to the pope, and ten metropolitans signed his appeal. But the sentence of his deposition was pronounced and signed by the timid legates. A deposed subdeacon tore from him his episcopal robes, as a sign of his degradation. He was then required to declare the justice of his deposition by his own signature; new indignities and cruelties followed his refusal, until force was used to keep his hand on the paper. He avoided by flight the further indignity of reading his own condemnation in the church; but after some time, to prevent a tumult of the people, he returned to his monastery.

As soon as Nicholas had received the acts of the synod, together with a letter from the emperor, and another, composed with artful hypocrisy, from Photius, he convened a council of the Roman clergy. He there declared that he had not consented to the degradation of Ignatius or to the elevation of Photius, and that he would not, until the offences imputed to the former could be proved against him. He addressed an encyclical letter, containing this declaration, to the three patriarchs of the East, and wrote at the same time to Photius and the emperor. To Photius he wrote, that he had acted as an adulterer, in invading the Church of another; that his assertion, that he had been consecrated by violence and against his will, was proved to be false, by his injustice and cruelties against Ignatius and his friends. At a Roman synod, in 863, the legate

Zacharias, who, according to his own confession, had been corrupted by bribes, was deposed and excommunicated. Rodvald, the other legate, who was still absent, was visited a short time later with a similar punishment. In the same synod, the pope, as he saw that his letter had produced no effect in Constantinople, pronounced against Photius sentence of deposition and of separation from the body of the clergy, accompanying it with the threat of excommunication, if he should endeavour to retain the patriarchal see or to obstruct Ignatius in the government of his Church : all those who had been ordained by Photius were commanded to return to the rank of laics, and all that had been done against Ignatius was to be considered invalid. The pontiff also declared Gregory of Syracuse to be deposed. Another messenger now arrived from Constantinople, the bearer of an epistle from the emperor, in which, after many outrages against the pope and the see of Rome, Michael imperiously demanded that the pope should confirm all that had been done at Constantinople. But Nicholas replied, with dignified moderation, that unless the emperor would command that letter to be burnt, he would excommunicate all those who had counselled him to send it, as well as those who had composed it, and that he himself would burn it in a synod.

Amidst the frightful excesses and crimes of the Byzantine court, Photius was silent, or rather took part in them : he assisted at the imperial drinking feasts, and in them contended with the rabble of the court for the precedence ; not indeed that we are to suppose that he acted thus from inclination, but only to confirm himself in the favour of the emperor and of those around him. For his patron, Bardas, the author of all these evils, had been murdered, in 866, with the approbation of Michael, by Basilus, a new favourite : but Photius retained his influence, and as he could now assure himself of the sympathy of the whole body of the oriental clergy in the controversy with the Bulgarians, he proceeded to the extreme of violence against the see of Rome. The

Bulgarians had at this time given the preference to the priests who had been sent to them from Rome, before those who had come from Greece, and had obliged the latter to return to their own country. The two bishops who had followed the priests from Rome, had moreover declared the confirmation administered by the Greek priests invalid, and began to confirm again the converted Bulgarians. Three papal legates, who wished to pass from Bulgaria to Constantinople, were not permitted to enter the empire. Photius now called a synod of the bishops who were devoted to him, and endeavoured to give to it the authority of a general council. There appeared in it pretended representatives of the three patriarchs: false accusations were heard, and anathemas pronounced, against the pope. It appears that only twenty-one bishops signed the decree. Photius, therefore, must have procured thousands of suffrages and signatures from the bishops of his party, from priests, deacons and patricians, of whom the greater number had never heard of the existence of the synod. To ensure to himself the support of the emperor Lewis, and of his empress Ingelberge, against the pontiff, Photius introduced into the acts of the council, acclamations, in which the bishops gave to them the title of imperial, an appellation which had always been refused by the Greeks to the western emperors: he sent this piece of forgery, with rich presents, to the emperor and Ingelberge. He then addressed a circular to the three patriarchs, in which he objected to the western ecclesiastics in Bulgaria, and through them to the whole Western Church, that they fasted on Saturday, that they abridged the time of Lent by a week, and that, during the fast, they took milk food; that they despised those priests who lived in virtuous matrimony, and rejected the anointing (confirmation) administered by priests; that they falsified the confessions of faith, which had been sanctioned by general councils, by adding to them, and taught that the Holy Ghost proceeds, not from the Father only, but from the Son also, by which they introduced into the Trinity two

principles, making the Father the principle of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and the Son also a principle of the Holy Ghost.

The most conspicuous accusation, and that to which Photius attached the greatest importance, was the last ; partly, because it was the only one by which a dogma of the Church was affected ; and partly, because it was of a nature to excite a strong hostile feeling in the people, on account of the addition to the symbol of faith of the word *filioque*, “and from the Son.” But additions to the symbol had before been frequently made. The ancient apostles’ creed had received several before the council of Nice : at Nice, on account of the Arian and Sabellian heresies, its formulas were extended, and at Sardica, it was decreed that it should thus continue for the future. But in 371, it was thought advisable, in order to oppose the new heresies against the Holy Ghost, to add the proposition which spoke of this Holy Spirit, as “the Lord and vivifier, who proceeds from the Father, who is adored and glorified with the Father and the Son, who spoke by the prophets.” The second œcumenical council of 381, confirmed the introduction of this formula. At the council of Ephesus, in 431, it was ordained that the symbol of Nice (with the additions of 381) should not be again changed ; but at the council of Chalcedon, in 451, the necessity was felt of opposing to the errors of Nestorianism and Eutychianism a profession of faith, similar to that which St. Cyril had received from the orientals and from John, patriarch of Antioch. The Monophysites produced the Ephesine canon against the validity of this formula, but the Catholics replied that the Ephesine synod had forbidden no more than the addition of any formula which might be in contradiction with the formulas of the Nicene symbol. The word *filioque* was first introduced by the Spanish Church in its profession of faith, about the beginning of the fifth century ; it is to be found in the symbol of the first council of Toledo, held against the Priscillianists, in the year 400. In the symbol of Nice, as enlarged at Constantinople, it was

found at the time of the conversion of the West Goths to the Catholic Church ; and at the synod of Toledo, in 589, it had been introduced, and was ordered to be sung according to a decree of this council, together with the entire formula, by the people at the celebration of the divine mysteries. From Spain, the word passed into France and Germany, during the eighth century ; and in the synod of Friuli, in 794, and in that of Frankfort, of 794, the word *filioque* was adopted in the confession of faith. And, in fact, the introduction of this word was most desirable, to convey a more perfect declaration of the doctrine of the Trinity : for, according to the principles of the Greek fathers, the real ground on which the like essence of the Son and of the Holy Ghost with the Father necessarily rests, is, that both spring from the Father ; the Son by generation and the Holy Ghost by procession ; so the Holy Ghost, as he is of like essence with the Son, and yet distinct from him in person, must receive his divine substance also from the Son. Both the perfect equality of nature, and the personal distinction of the Holy Ghost from the Son, are expressed by the word *filioque*. The council of 381 had defined against the Macedonians, who maintained that the Holy Ghost was a creature of the Son, merely the Homousion of the Holy Ghost with the Father, and consequently the procession of the same Divine Spirit from the Father ; that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son, these heretics did not deny. The first who denied this procession were the Monothelites at Constantinople ; when they found this doctrine asserted in an epistle of the pope St. Martin, they were followed by the Iconoclasts, and hence this subject was discussed in a synod at Gentilly, near Paris, in 767. The complaints which the monk John raised at Jerusalem against the western monks who resided there, on this same question, were the occasion of the synod which assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 809, in the presence of the emperor. This synod sent to Rome the bishop of Worms, and Adelhard, abbot of Corby, to request the pontiff to insert the word *filioque* in the symbol of the

first two councils. With this request the pope refused to comply, as he did not wish to exalt himself above the holy fathers, who had compiled the symbol; and as other things which regarded the doctrine of the Trinity, and were therefore necessary to be believed, were also omitted by them. In the dogma the pontiff was, of course, of the same belief as were the delegates; for, in his letter to the monks of Jerusalem, he had asserted the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and from the Son. The formula was, however, soon after received into the symbol at Rome.

The pope Nicholas wrote to the French bishops, and in particular to Hinemar of Rheims, and requested them to co-operate with him in refuting the accusations that had been made by the Greeks against the western Church. In addition to the objections which we have named above, he now mentioned others that had been added, that the Latins offered on the altar at Easter a lamb together with the body of our Lord; that the priests did not permit their beards to grow; that they consecrated deacons, bishops, without having first ordained them priests; and that they prepared the chrism from river water. It was not for the French theologians, Æneas bishop of Paris, and Ratramnus the monk of Corby, a difficult task to reply to these groundless, and in part, ludicrously trifling objections.

The miserable Michael was murdered in 867, by the machinations of his favourite and co-regent Basilius. Being now sole emperor, Basilius lost no time in driving Photius from the patriarchal throne, and in restoring the lawful patriarch, Ignatius, after ten years of wandering in persecution, to his Church. With him, the bishops, abbots, and monks, who had been banished on his account, returned also from exile. But Photius, during the ten years of his usurpation, had been able to gain over to his interests nearly all the Greek bishoprics, and now held no less than three hundred bishops in his party, whilst Ignatius met at every step opposition and contradiction. It therefore appeared necessary to

convene a general council to restore again to order the affairs of the Greek Church. The emperor sent an embassy to Rome to request the pontiff to send legates and to consult with him upon the conduct to be observed towards the adherents of Photius, and towards those who had been ordained by him. Photius also sent to Rome the metropolitan of Sardes, who died on his journey. In a synod at Rome, the pope Adrian II pronounced anathema against Photius, caused the acts of his false synod to be burnt, but promised pardon to his followers, if they would acknowledge themselves to have been in error, and would return to the communion of Ignatius. Three legates conveyed the acts of this synod and letters from the pope to Constantinople, where a delegate of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the archbishop of Tyre, as representative of the lately deceased patriarch of Antioch, had already arrived. The synod, the eighth general council of the Church, was opened on the fifth day of October 869, in the church of St. Sophia. The pontifical legates presided; after them sat Ignatius and the representatives of the patriarchs. The legates presented a formula of union, which every bishop was required to sign before he could take part in the council. It contained an anathema against all heresies, against Photius, and against all those who should remain in communion with him; also an explanatory declaration of the synods which had been holden by the popes Nicholas and Adrian, against Photius, and the condemnation of all that he had attempted against the see of Rome. The first session in which this document, and one of a similar nature from the patriarchs, were read, consisted of only eighteen prelates; but their number increased as the separation of the innocent from the guilty and the subscription to the formula proceeded. In the second session, the elder bishops who had been consecrated by Methodius and Ignatius, but who had passed over to Photius, presented an acknowledgment of their fault, requested, as they had yielded only to violence, to be admitted to pardon, and were received after they had

signed the formula. To the other ecclesiastics, who had acted in the same manner, a penance was assigned, after the performance of which they were permitted to resume their ecclesiastical functions. In the next sitting several of the bishops refused to sign the papal formula, because, as it appears, they imagined they saw in it too great a concession to be made by them to the Roman legates ; some of them, therefore, laid their difficulty before the emperor, complaining that the Byzantine Church was made the handmaid of the Church of Rome. In the fifth session, Photius, although against his will, was introduced ; but he persevered in an obstinate silence, and at length replied to only a few questions, employing in his answers words of Christ taken from the Scriptures. At the three following sessions the emperor was present. The bishops who had been consecrated by Photius, and who were in pursuance of the pope's decree to be deposed, endeavoured to defend the ordination of Photius and their own. Those who spoke were Euthymius of Cæsarea, Zacharias of Chalcedon, and Eulampius of Apamea. The popes, these bishops asserted, are not superior to the canons ; if, therefore, they transgress the canons, they may be resisted. They were answered by Metrophanes of Smyrna, who reminded them that the party of Photius itself had appealed to the Roman pontiff, Nicholas. The emperor also, in an address which he caused to be read by his secretary, exhorted them to yield to the decision of the present synod, which was celebrated with the co-operation of the united patriarchal sees. Photius and Gregory of Syracuse, who were introduced in the seventh session, declared that they would give the reasons for their conduct only to the emperor, and not to the legates of the pope. They were then excommunicated, with all their obstinate adherents. In the eighth session, the subscriptions which Photius had obtained from the different classes of the clergy and laics by force or by fraud, with his writings against the pope and the patriarch Ignatius, were consigned to the flames. The deception and

the falsifications of which he had been guilty in his last pretended council were now laid open, and the canon of the Roman synod, held under the pope Martin, which condemned to excommunication for the whole period of his life, the falsifier of ecclesiastical decrees, was read to the council.

After an interruption of three months, the ninth session, at which the delegate of the patriarch of Alexandria was present, opened on the 12th of February, in the year 870. This session was dedicated to the examination of the false testimonies that had been employed against Ignatius. At the tenth and last session, the most numerously attended of all, there were present one hundred and two prelates, the emperor and his sons, the ambassadors of the Western emperor, Lewis, and twenty patricians. The decrees of the pope against Photius and in favour of Ignatius were confirmed; the ordinations conferred by Photius, who had never been lawful bishop, were declared illegal; the seven preceding general councils were confirmed, and the decrees against the Monothelites and Iconoclasts renewed. Of the twenty-seven canons of this council, two in particular prove that, notwithstanding the presence of the emperor, its acts were entirely free. One of these two decreed the deposition of such bishops as had been intruded into their sees by an abuse of the civil power; the other condemned the opinion, that the presence of the emperor was necessary for the validity of a council. The twenty-first (thirteenth) spoke of the honour that was due to the patriarchs, particularly to the patriarch of ancient Rome. Whoever, either by words or by writing, should attack the see of Peter, should be condemned, as were Dioscorus and Photius. If, in a general council, a controversy should arise respecting the Church of Rome, information, and the solution of the controversy, should be sought with the becoming reverence, but that no one should speak with presumption against the hierarchy of ancient Rome. The emperor signed the decrees of the council, after the delegates of the patriarchal Churches. The Roman

legates added to their subscription, the clause—with reservation of the revision of the pope. This addition gave rise to some reclamations on the side of the Greeks.

However great might have been the harmony with which the Greeks and the papal delegates had conducted the chief acts of this council, it was not difficult to discover beneath it the distrustful jealousy of the Byzantines against Rome. Some of the Greek bishops so far influenced the emperor, as to allow the subtraction of a part of the papal formulary: it was restored by means of the ambassadors of the emperor Lewis. But the great stone of scandal was the question of the jurisdiction over the Bulgarians. With this question was involved, not only the rights of the patriarch, but the political interest also of the emperor, which would appear to be injured by the independence of the Bulgarians of the Church of Constantinople. The ambassadors of the Bulgarian king, in a conference which was held immediately after the termination of the synod, and at which, with Ignatius and the legates, only the representatives of the patriarchs were present, proposed this question,—To what Church should the Church of their nation be considered subject? The orientals answered, that as Bulgaria had formerly constituted a part of the Greek empire, and as the Bulgarians, when they took possession of the country, found there, not Latin, but Greek priests, it was evident that they should be incorporated with the patriarchate of Constantinople. The legates replied, that the jurisdiction of the Church was not confined by the political divisions of the empire, and ought not to vary with the variations of territorial boundaries, that Rome had ordained, either immediately or by its vicars, the bishops in the two provinces of Epirus, in Thessaly and Dardania (Bulgaria) until these provinces had been wrested from its jurisdiction by the violence of Leo the Isaurian; that the Bulgarians had of their own will subjected themselves to the Roman Church; that they had been converted by Roman missionaries; and that for three years they had been governed by bishops and priests, who had been

sent to them from Rome. The legates, at last, asserted the higher authority of the Church of Rome, which would not subject itself to the decision of another. But the Greeks persevered in their opposition the more, as the Romans no longer acknowledged the authority of the Greek emperor, but had attached themselves to the emperor of the Franks. It was in vain that the legates appealed to Ignatius, conjuring him not to join in despoiling of its rights that Church, by the assistance of which he had regained possession of his own. His answer was indefinite and foreign to the subject. Soon after he sent the learned Theophylactus, as first metropolitan, into Bulgaria. The successor of Adrian, the too imperious John VIII, sent, at the request of the emperor, the bishops of Ancona and Ostia, as legates to Constantinople, to remedy the evils which the still existing party of Photius had occasioned. They conveyed to Ignatius letters from the pope, in which he was commanded to recall all the Greek bishops and priests from Bulgaria. He was threatened, if he should hesitate to comply, first with suspension, and then with excommunication. But death freed him from this controversy.

In the meantime, the artful and designing Photius had secured to himself powerful friends at court : he had flattered the emperor by a genealogical tree, on which he had traced his descent from the Arsacides : he had been the tutor of the young princes, the counsellor of the emperor, and now, three days after the death of Ignatius, in 878, he appeared once more as patriarch. He again employed, as before, all the arts of corruption and of force, either to gain or to remove the bishops that were opposed to him. He sent the abbot Theodore Santabares, a fit instrument of his nefarious designs, as his apocrisarius to the pope. In his letter, he lamented, in a tone of great humility, the violence that had again been used to place him on the patriarchal throne. The two legates, who had been sent to Ignatius, allowed themselves to be drawn to the party of Photius ; their example was followed by many bishops,

and an embassy to the pope arrived in Rome from the emperor, who, in his epistle to the pontiff, asserted that all the bishops who had been ordained by Methodius and Ignatius now declared for Photius, and he therefore requested him to receive Photius into communion with the see of Rome, and to confirm him as patriarch. John VIII, who then required the aid of Basilius against the Saracens, that menaced the desolation of Italy, and whom a promise that the Bulgarian Church should be left under his jurisdiction appears to have influenced, and who was moved also perhaps by a just fear of an irremediable schism, yielded to the request, and removed all censures from Photius and his adherents, but with the conditions that Photius should declare, before a synod, his sorrow for his past offences, that the Bulgarians should be restored to the jurisdiction of the Roman patriarchate, that no layman should be again elected bishop, and that all those who had been ordained by Ignatius should retain their places. After the arrival of the cardinal, Peter, the papal legate, a great council of three hundred and eighty bishops was held in 879, in which Photius gained a signal triumph. Zacharias of Ephesus, in the first session, after a fulsome panegyric of the "divine" Photius, declared that this council, for which there was indeed no necessity, was held only to repel the calumnies of a small party of heretics, and more through respect for the see of Rome, on whose authority it was based. In the second and third sessions, Photius read the letter of the pope, and his instructions to the legate, in a translation in which these documents were mutilated and falsified. All that displeased him in them—the reference to his own usurpation, the demand of an acknowledgment of his crimes—he omitted or changed, and substituted in their place a eulogy of himself, and an entire rejection of the council of 869. Interpolated or forged were, without doubt, the epistles of the three patriarchs, which abounded with praises of Photius and the emperor, and declared the delegates of the patriarchs, at the last synod, to have been liars and deceivers. It is far more probable

that these epithets were more applicable to the delegates at the present synod, who gave their voice to all that was required of them; for a contemporary, the author of the *Breviarum* of the eighth general council, testifies, that since the pontiff Nicholas, with the concurrence of the three oriental patriarchs, had anathematised Photius, Photius had been recognised by none of them. When, in the fourth session, the conditions and requisitions of the pope were mentioned, there was not exhibited by the council even the appearance of a desire to gratify the pontiff, who had weakened his authority by his condescension: the question of the Bulgarian jurisdiction was referred to the emperor, and the ordinance of the pope, that a layman should no more be elected bishop, was pronounced intolerable; but joy was shown when it was proposed to condemn the synods that had been held against Photius, and to excommunicate the schismatics, those who refused to acknowledge Photius. In the fifth session, on the 28th of January 880, a species of covenant was pretended to be concluded between the patriarchs of ancient and new Rome, by which neither was for the future to sanction the deposition or the excommunication of the other. The following two sessions were held in presence of the emperor. The symbol of 381 was adopted, with an anathema, directed evidently against the Western Church, which prohibited all changes, either by strange words, by additions or by omissions, as formulae of faith. Procopius of Casarea then pronounced a panegyric of Photius, whom he compared to Christ, and the council was closed by a series of acclamations, of which one was, "Many years to the patriarchs Photius and John!" To the acts of the council was added a pretended letter from the pontiff to Photius, in which the word *filioque* is declared to be an addition rejected by the Church of Rome, and a blasphemy which must be abolished, but calmly and by degrees. This synod might be viewed in all its parts as a worthy sister of the *Council of Robbers* of the year 449; with this difference, that in the earlier synod violence and tyranny, in

the later artifice, fraud and falsehood, were employed by wicked men to work out their wicked designs. Photius had, on many preceding occasions, given such proofs of his mastery in the art of falsification, that it is more than probable, and this suspicion cannot be removed by contemporary records, of which there are so few, that many things in the acts of this synod were forged or interpolated by him. This much, however, is certain, that the papal legates, the cardinal Peter, and two bishops, who had been sent in a former delegation, surrounded by a web of deceit, and not mindful of Grecian artifice, acted a lamentable part in this affair. So deeply corrupted were the Byzantine clergy, and in general so degraded, that it required a more than ordinary degree of prudence and caution to escape untouched in this poisoned atmosphere of infection. The pope, deceived by his legates and by false accounts that Bulgaria had been surrendered to the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, thanked the emperor for the service which he had done to the Church by this synod: but he seemed to have entertained some suspicion, for he added, "if perchance his legates had in any thing acted contrary to the papal instructions, this he could not confirm." By degrees his eyes were opened. He then sent to Constantinople the bishop Marinus, to declare invalid all that the legates had done contrary to their instructions. For the execution of this commission he was cast by the emperor into prison, where he remained for a month. Marinus, when successor of John VIII, rejected the Photian synod and condemned Photius: this condemnation was repealed by Adrian III. When Basilus died, in 886, Photius found himself necessitated again to abdicate his patriarchal throne. His creature, Theodore Santabares, whom he raised to the archbishopric of Euchaites, had made the unsuccessful attempt to create enmities between the emperor and his son Leo. As soon as Leo ascended the throne of his father, he resolved to revenge himself upon Theodore and his patron. Two imperial officers read in the church a catalogue of the crimes

committed by Photius, whom they declared to be deposed. For five years he lived in retirement in a cloister, and was succeeded in his dignity by the young Stephen, the brother of the emperor. This young man had been ordained deacon by Photius ; but as the Roman see and the council of 869 had declared all the ordinations of Photius invalid, the emperor required of all the bishops who were then at Constantinople to write with him to the pope, praying him to grant dispensation and absolution to all those who had been ordained by Photius. The emperor, therefore, and Stylianus, metropolitan of Cæsarea, sent letters to Rome ; but as the emperor in his letter stated that Photius had resigned, whilst Stylianus alluded to his expulsion, the pope, Stephen IV, suspended his judgment until he should receive more accurate information. In the meantime, the young patriarch Stephen died, in 893, and under his successor, Anthony, Stylianus and many other bishops wrote again to Rome, where Formosus had become pope, praying for leniency towards those who had been ordained by Photius, and expressed a wish that the pontiff would address, for the same purpose, an encyclical letter to the patriarchs of the East. Formosus sent two bishops to Constantinople, the bearers of his decision, which was, that those who had received ordination from Photius should be received into the communion of the Church, but only as laics.

SECTION IX.

RELATIONS OF THE TWO CHURCHES IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES. RENEWAL OF THE SCHISM BY MICHAEL CERULARIUS.*

THE emperor Leo, by espousing a fourth wife, Zoe Carbonopsine, in the year 905, caused a widely extend-

* The Letters of the Patriarch Nicholas, in Baronius, ad annum 912 ; Glaber Radulph. 4, 1 ; Luitprandi Legatio ad Niccephorum

ing schism in the Byzantine Church. A fourth marriage had been long prohibited by the Greeks. The patriarch Nicholas Mysticus had most earnestly implored the emperor not to give this scandal to his subjects, and when Leo, notwithstanding his entreaties, received the nuptial benediction from an ecclesiastic of the palace, the patriarch excommunicated the priest and forbade the emperor to enter the church. Even the representations of the papal legates, who had come to Constantinople at the request of the emperor, failed to shake the constancy of Nicholas. He was at length violently removed by the command of Leo, in 906, and the syncellus Euthymius, who received the emperor to communion, was appointed to succeed him. But Nicholas was recalled after the death of Leo, or during his last sickness: he consulted the pope, John X, on the subject of fourth espousals, and as the question was now no longer personal, he requested that it might be impartially decided. For since the deposition of Euthymius a schism had arisen between the two parties of the Nicholaites and the Euthymians, the opponents and the defenders of fourth marriages. The legates of the pontiff restored peace, and these marriages were prohibited for the future by an edict of the emperor Constantine.

The accusations that had been raised by Photius against the Western Church were now forgotten, or were no longer mentioned. Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, who, in 968, was at Constantinople as ambassador of the emperor Otho, heard nothing of these objections. But there were not wanting other causes of dissension. Whilst Luitprand was still in the impe-

Phocam, in Corp. Script. Byzant. pt. xi. Bonn. 1828; The Letters of Cerularius and Leo of Achrida, the Writings of Humbert and Nicetus Pectoratus, the Commemoratio eorum quæ gesserunt Apocrisarii S. R. Ecclesiæ in Regia Urbe, and the Letters of Excommunication, in Canisius—Basnage Thesaur. tom. iii. pt. i. 281-328; The Epistles of Pope Leo IX, in Mansi, tom. xix.; Two Epistles of Cerularius to Peter, patriarch of Antioch, and the Answers, in Cotelarii Monum. Græc. tom. ii.

rial city, legates from pope John XIII arrived, bearing letters to the emperor Nicephoras Phocas, who was named therein "emperor of the Greeks," and in which to Otho were given the titles, "Emperor of the Romans, and Augustus." So great was the bitterness excited by this circumstance, that the legates were thrown into prison. Added to this was the command of the emperor, that the episcopal see of Otranto should be raised to the dignity of an archbishopric by the patriarch Polyeuctus, as he, and not the pope, ordained the bishops of the surrounding country: it was decreed also that the Greek, and not the Latin, language should be henceforth used in the liturgy, in Calabria and Apulia. The title of "œcumenical patriarch" had not been laid aside by the patriarchs of Constantinople, but their pride was wounded by the refusal of the popes, and of the entire Western Church, to award it to them. The patriarch Eustathius, supported by the emperor, and armed with rich presents of gold, applied, in the year 1024, to the pope, John XIX. In Rome, where, unhappily, simony was then not unfrequent, there was shown an inclination to accede to his request. But no sooner was the negotiation made known, than a voice of general disapprobation was raised in Italy and in France. Many prelates earnestly besought the pope that so foul a blot might not be cast on the Roman see, and the grant was therefore suspended.

But Michael Cerularius, who, when a laic, had been compelled to enter a monastery on account of a conspiracy into which he had entered against the emperor, Michael the Paphlagonian, and who, when patriarch (1043—1059) proved himself to be a man of insatiable ambition, and withal ignorant and superstitious, completed the separation which so many causes had prepared. In 1053, in conjunction with Leo of Archida, the learned metropolitan of Bulgaria, he directed a letter to John, bishop of Trani, and through him to all the bishops, priests, and people of France, and to the pope himself. In this letter it was objected to the Churches of the west, that, following the practice of the Jews, and con-

trary to the usage observed by Christ, they employed unleavened bread in the eucharist, that they fasted on the Saturdays in Lent, that they eat blood and things strangled, and that in the time of fasting they did not sing the alleluja. This letter was translated into Latin by the Cardinal Humbert, and presented by him to the pope, St. Leo IX. The pontiff immediately wrote a refutation of it, and, amongst other things remarked that whilst Cerularius had closed the churches of the Latins, and had taken their churches from the Latin abbots and monks, as long as they refused to adopt the rites of the Greeks, the numerous churches and cloisters of the Greeks at Rome were, on the contrary, permitted to retain the religious usages of Greece. This more apologetical than polemical epistle of the pope, was followed by another of a different kind, which was conveyed, in 1054, to Constantinople, by three legates, Humbert cardinal of St. Rufina, Peter archbishop of Amalfi, and the chancellor Frederic. In this it was objected to Cerularius, that he wished to subject to himself the patriarchs of Alexandria and of Antioch; and that he had arrogated to himself the title of œcumenical patriarch. Humbert, during his residence at Constantinople, composed a defence of the pope's letter, and accused the Greeks of the abuses of which they were guilty; that they rebaptised the Latins, that they permitted their priests to reside with their wives on the days on which they were called to the altars, and that they did not baptize their children before the eighth day after birth. The controversy on the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the eucharist was based on the historical question, 'what species of bread did Christ employ at his last supper?' The work of the Cardinal was translated into Greek by command of the emperor Monomachus, whose political interests made him averse to a schism, and who, therefore, received the legates with kindness, and lodged them in his palace. Nicetus Pectoratus, a monk of the Studium, in his bitter reply to Humbert, undertook the defence of the marriage of the clergy, and asserted that

unleavened bread was an imperfect bread, void of all life and power, by partaking of which the Latins placed themselves at the table of the Jews. In his answer, Humbert passed the boundaries of justifiable defence. He designated his adversary a Stercoranist, because he had said that the eucharist broke the fast; he anathematised him, and all who thought with him, until they should forsake their errors. And, in effect, Nicetas retracted his assertions, condemned his writings, and all who should deny the supremacy of the Church of Rome over all other Churches, or who should assail the pure doctrines taught by that Church. From an opponent, he became a sincere and zealous friend of the legates.

As Cerularius had hitherto obstinately avoided all intercourse with the legates, they placed upon the altar of the Church of St. Sophia, in presence of the clergy and people, a writ of excommunication, in which the accusations which Cerularius had raised against the Latins were turned against himself, and others added to them. They also pronounced anathema in presence of the emperor, against all who should pertinaciously censure the faith of the Church of Rome, or its mode of offering the holy sacrifice. Immediately after their departure, the legates were recalled by the emperor, at the request of Cerularius himself, who, it appears, pretended to wish for a conference with them, only with the view of delivering them up to the fury of the populace, whose minds he had embittered by a false translation of the letter of excommunication. But his design was frustrated by the emperor, and the legates again commenced their return. Cerularius, by his accusation against the emperor, whom he represented as in league with the Romans to destroy the Greek Church, excited an insurrection. In a synod, which had been hastily assembled, he pronounced anathema against the legates: he drew up a relation of all that had passed between himself and the legates, in which he accused them of fraud, having, in conjunction with his enemy, the general Argyrus, pretended that they had been sent by the

pope, in whose name they had forged letters. Finally, he exerted himself to induce the oriental patriarchs to discontinue their alliance with the see of Rome. His letter to Peter, the patriarch of Antioch, contained a catalogue of other scandals which he had discovered in the western Church. It was allowed, he said, in that Church, to two brothers to espouse two sisters; he stated also that the bishops wore rings, and engaged in warfare; that in the mass one ecclesiastic embraced another; that baptism was administered by a single immersion, and that salt was placed in the mouth of the child baptized; that the images and relics of saints were not honoured, and that Gregory the Theologian, Basil and John Chrysostom, were not numbered amongst the saints. Amongst these objections there was one, the martial spirit of many bishops, which was correct; one, the addition of the word *filioque*, which was of importance; of the others, many were totally false, trifling, and futile. It was part of the Byzantine obstinacy, the effect of ignorance, to adhere to these appearances, and to assume such things as the pretext of that schism, the awful consequences of which it was not difficult to foresee. Characteristic of this obstinacy and arrogance were the astonishment and displeasure of Cerularius, expressed by him in his letter to the patriarch of Antioch, caused by the declaration of the papal legates, that they had come to Constantinople not to be taught, but to teach. The patriarch of Antioch, who, when he entered his see, had renewed his communion with the pope, by a synodal letter addressed to him, answered his colleague of Constantinople in words of peace. He refuted the assertion that the names of the Roman pontiffs had not been inserted in the dyptics of the oriental Church since the time of Vigilius, by his statement of the fact, that forty-five years before he had himself seen the name of Sergius in the dyptics of Constantinople. Of the objections that had been enumerated against the Latins, he added, the only one of consequence was that which regarded the addition to the symbol; it was indeed reprehensible that they

should prevent married priests from offering the holy sacrifice, and that in the eucharist they should use unleavened bread ; but if the addition to the symbol were omitted, the other things might be tolerated. The other objections he declared to be in part groundless and in part insignificant. Cerularius, he concluded, should persuade himself that the evils and miseries of the Greek empire sprung from its separation from the first apostolical see, and should remember that in the east also, many abuses which had insinuated themselves amongst the people, were from necessity tolerated. Peter wrote in a similar pacific tone to Dominicus, bishop of Aquileia. His letter to Cerularius produced but little effect, for a second epistle addressed by him to Peter, was no more than a repetition of his former accusations against the legates. His influence at Constantinople was now so powerful, that in 1057, he was able to dethrone the emperor, Michael Strationicus, and to place the imperial diadem on the head of Isaac Comnenus. But with his power, his haughtiness also increased ; he assumed the emblems of majesty, and declared that between the priestly and the imperial rank the distinction was small. His ambition was rewarded with exile to Proconesus, where he died in 1059. The evils, however, of which he had sown the seeds in the Church, did not die with him. There did not, indeed, immediately follow a formal, declared schism, but there succeeded a coldness and reserve, although the pope Alexander, in 1071, sent Peter, the bishop of Anagni, as his apocrisarius to Constantinople, where he remained during an entire year.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

HISTORY OF THE POPES.

SECTION I.—TO THE DEATH OF LEO III (816).*

THE Church of Rome presents itself to us, at the commencement of this period, in a state of confusion and of severe oppression. The political relations of Italy, from which this state of confusion and oppression sprung, showed no signs of stability, but of evident dissolution, and hence it fell to the lot of the popes to be called, as they were often by their station necessitated, not to remain passive, but to perform an active and important part in this time of transition. The Greek emperors, who still governed Rome, with the south and part of the north of Italy, were too weak to afford to this part of their dominions constant protection, but sufficiently strong to inflict upon it many severities. The Lombards pursued their design, which was the natural consequence of their position, of subduing all Italy, but particularly Rome and the popes; and thus was left to the popes and to the Romans only the choice between the oppression of the Greeks and the still more hated yoke of the Lombards. The first popes of this period, Leo II (from 682 to 684) and Benedict II (to 686), still continued to receive testimonies of the honour and respect which the emperor Constantine bore to the

* *Monumenta Dominationis Pontificiæ, seu Codex Carolinus*, ed. Cenni, Romæ, 1760, 2 vols. 4to. (It contains letters of the Popes, from Gregory III to Adrian I, to Charles Martel, Pepin, Carloman, and Charlemagne.)—*Anastasius Bibliothecarius*.

Orsi, *Dell' Origine del Dominio e della Sovranità de' Romani Pontefici sopra gli stati loro temporalmente soggetti*. See Ediz. da Gaet. Cenni, Roma, 1754.

see of Rome. He decreed that the pontiff, who should be chosen by the clergy and people of Rome, should be consecrated without the confirmation of the emperor or of the exarch of Ravenna. But Justinian II appears to have repealed this grant. The elections of the popes were oftentimes the cause of contention, as well on account of the high political station which they now occupied as the actual chiefs of the Roman republic—for, compared with them, the duke and exarch named by the Byzantine court were of no authority—it was natural that political motives should often guide the choice of the Roman people; whilst with the clergy, the ecclesiastical qualities of the candidates were of greater weight. After the short reigns of John V and Conon, Sergius I succeeded, in 687. He rejected the canons of the Trullan synod, in 694, and the emperor Justinian sought therefore to have him conveyed as a prisoner to Constantinople. But the soldiers of Ravenna and of the Pentapolis hastened to his defence. In the same manner the attempt of the exarch John to expel Sergius and to place upon the papal throne the archdeacon Paschal failed, through the determination of the people to protect their bishop from violence. Under John VI (701 to 705), the mere suspicion that the exarch was designing something to the prejudice of the pontiff appears to have caused a tumult, which only the persuasions of the pope could tranquillise. It is well worthy of remark, that at this time seven successive pontiffs, John V, Conon, Sergius, and John VI, John VII (705-707), Sisinnius (708), and Constantine (708-715), were either Greeks or Syrians; a fact that we can ascribe only to the want of theological scholars in Rome, or to the influence of the Byzantine court. This we know, that a great number of learned orientals resided at this period in Rome, and that a part of the Roman clergy were Greeks, whose numbers were increased by the persecutions of the Iconoclast emperors. Constantine, who was called to Constantinople by the emperor Justinian, probably on account of the Trullan synod, some of the canons of which were not sanctioned by the Roman see,

was met at Nicomedia with marks of the greatest honour: the emperor with his crown on his head, prostrated before him, received the communion from his hands, and presented to him a confirmation of all the rights of the Roman Church.

Gregory II (715-731), by birth a Roman, and not unworthy to be ranked with his great predecessor of the same name, beheld the beginnings of the long-menaced conflict. The attempt of the emperor Leo to extend his edicts against sacred images, and the imposition of a new poll-tax, occasioned a rising of the people. The Greek duke at Rome, who, at the instigation of the emperor, had formed a conspiracy against the life of the holy pope, was driven from the city; the exarch Paul, who marched against Rome, was compelled to retire before the armed Romans and Tuscans, and the pope was thus necessitated to take upon himself, in its full extent, the government of the state. The Italians wished immediately to elect a new emperor, but they were prevented by the pope. Rome, the Pentapolis (that is, the confederation of the five cities, Pesaro, Rimini, Fano, Umana, and Ancona), Venice, and Ravenna, threw off the government of the emperor, and, supported by the Lombards, and under the patronage of the pope, elected their own dukes. But the Lombards were uncertain and dangerous allies. Their king, Luitprand, soon after appeared as a confederate of the Greek exarchs, with his army, before the walls of Rome. But the eloquence of the pope prevailed upon him to consent to a cessation of hostilities, and by his mediation terms of peace were obtained from the exarch.

Gregory III (731-741), a Syrian, saw himself involved in the same ecclesiastical conflicts with the Iconoclasts, and the same political troubles with the Lombards, which had surrounded his predecessor. His ambassadors, whom he sent to Constantinople, were ill-treated. Luitprand taking, as a pretext, the refusal of the pope to surrender to him Guido, duke of Spoleto, who had fled to Rome, seized four cities of the Roman dukedom, and laid waste the patrimony of the Roman Church.

It was evident that he would not stop there, as it was obvious that Rome, with the East in hostility against it, must fall beneath the overwhelming power of the Lombards. Gregory then turned himself to the victorious Charles Martel, the powerful lord of the Franks: he sent to him the keys of the tomb of the holy apostle St. Peter, and conjured him to protect the church of the apostle, the sacred vessels and furniture of which had been plundered by the Lombards. Charles sent messengers, but no effective assistance, to Rome. Zachary (741-752), the successor of Gregory, and also a Syrian, was compelled to give up the duke of Spoleto, and obtained, in an interview with Luitprand, the restoration of the four cities, and of the patrimonies that had been seized, and finally, a peace or armistice of twenty years. At this time, the most powerful ruler in Italy was Luitprand; after him, next came the pope, to whom the oppressed from all parts of the Italian empire fled for refuge. His power was founded, not on arms, but on the authority of his high station, upon the possessions of the Roman Church in every part of Italy, and on the well-proved disinterestedness of his character. Narrowly confined was the power of the exarch of Ravenna, and the authority of the emperor had faded into a name. Four times was Zachary enabled, by the force of eloquence, to oblige the Lombard kings to lay down their arms, and to move them to spare the Italian provinces, which they threatened with desolation. Such an influence bears witness to the religious spirit of the age, an age in which kings and princes often received the religious habit from the hands of the popes. Thus in the year 728, Ina, king of Wessex, went to Rome, where he died, a recluse, having for some time supported himself by the labour of his hands. He was followed, in 745, by Unald, duke of Aquitaine. In 747, the Austrasian duke Carloman, the brother of Pepin, received the religious habit from the pope; in 750, the Lombard king Rachis, his wife and his daughter, took the same step; and a few years later, Anselm duke of Friuli entered a cloister. A short time before his death,

Zachary performed an important ecclesiastico-political act, by which he confirmed the change of dynasty in France, which had been effected by the people. Burchard bishop of Wurzburg, and the chaplain Fulrad, were the bearers of the decision of the pope, that he who in fact possessed the kingly power should be king ; and thus was Pepin, by the choice of the Franks, by the authority of the Roman see, and the consecration of the bishops, raised to the throne, at Soissons, on the 1st of March, in the year 752. Childeric, the last weak nominal king of the Merovingian dynasty, died in a cloister.

Under Stephen II, (752—757), the Lombard king, Aistulf, by the seizure of the exarchate of Ravenna and of the Pentapolis, annihilated the power of the Greeks in Upper Italy. He marched against Rome, observed a peace, which he had sworn to the pope to maintain for twenty years, only four months, and imposed upon the Romans, as if Rome were already his, a poll-tax. It was in vain that the pope implored the aid of Constantinople ; in vain that he sought peace from Aistulf. He therefore accepted the invitation of the French ambassadors to pass into their country, and Aistulf was compelled, against his will, to permit him to traverse his dominions. In the abbey of St. Denis, Stephen anointed, for the second time, Pepin and his sons, Charles and Carloman ; he at the same time granted to them and to their successors the title of Roman patricians. It was with this title that the emperors had been accustomed to convey imperial jurisdiction to the exarchs. The pope, it appears, granted this title as bishop of Rome, and as chief of the Roman republic, and to have united with it the idea of the protector of the Roman Church. Pepin, accompanied by the pope, marched into Italy, in 754, and Aistulf, who was shut up in Pavia, promised no more to molest Rome, and to restore the cities which he had lately taken. But, a violator of his word, he renewed the war, in 755 ; he oppressed Rome by laying waste the surrounding coun-

try, but was compelled by Pepin, whom the pope called again to his assistance, to retire from the invaded provinces; and now the king of the Franks gave the exarchate, which comprised the cities of Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Forlinpopoli, Forli, Jesi, Comacchio, and Narino, for ever, to St. Peter, to the Roman Church, and to its bishops; or, as it is said in one of the letters of the pope, to St. Peter, to the Church, and to the Roman republic; that is, to the popes, who, for a long period, had been in reality the chiefs of the Roman commonwealth. Rome, as it had not been taken by the Lombards, could not be comprised in the gift, but the pope had been already acknowledged as sovereign of the city; and Pepin exhorted the Romans to pay to the pontiff that obedience which was due to him. Pepin answered the Greek envoys, who demanded in the name of the emperor, the restoration of the exarchate, that he had undertaken this contest for the sake of no man, but in his veneration for the apostle St. Peter. The origin, therefore, of the states of the Church sprung from the necessities of the times and from the peculiar relations of Italy. Roman Italy, freed from the Lombard yoke, could not submit itself again to the oppressive rule of the Greeks, it could not submit itself to the persecutor of the Church, Constantine Copronymus. From the time of Gregory the Great, the popes alone preserved Italy from becoming entire the prey of the Lombards; they were the natural guardians of the Roman people against their foreign invaders. The gift, therefore, of Pepin, was without doubt in conformity with the wish of those who were included in it, and the real sovereignty of the popes was already so widely extended through the territories above-named, that the gift is named by many contemporary historians an act of restitution. The condition of Italy at this time, required the formation of a new power, and the elements of this were nowhere to be found in greater aptitude for coalescence than in Rome, and in the person of the popes. The popes, therefore, like the other Italian princes, now

entered upon those rights and duties, which were necessary for the internal and external establishment and conservation of a principality.

Under Paul I (757—767) the brother of the preceding pontiff, new contests arose with the Lombards. Of the seven cities of the Pentapolis, and Æmilia, which the Lombards had pledged themselves to restore, they had retained Imola, Bologna, Osimo, and Ancona, and had frequently invaded in arms the dominions of the pope. French ambassadors arrived in Italy to mediate and decide. The letters which passed between Paul and Pepin prove that the pope was actual governor of Rome, but that in all important cases he consulted with the patrician Pepin. During the last illness of the pope, a layman named Constantine, was placed by force of arms on the papal throne, by his brother the Duke Toto. Constantine retained possession for a year, at the end of which he was driven from Rome by the primicerius, Christopher, and his son Sergius. A party then endeavoured to place the monk Philip in the vacant see. Philip, however, soon returned to his cloister, and Stephen III (IV), a Sicilian priest and monk, was elected by the clergy and people. The new pope held, in 769, a numerous synod in the Lateran basilica, at which twelve French bishops attended. It was here resolved, that in future, no layman should be chosen to fill the chair of St. Peter. Two parties, of which one was French, the other Lombard, now stood opposed to each other in Rome. Desiderius, the Lombard king, came with an army to the assistance of the latter party, in whose power the pope appears to have kept for some time, and under whose influence he wrote to the French king an epistle in which he names Desiderius his beloved son, and declares that the king had made every indemnification and restitution (*justitias Beati Petri*) due to the see of Rome. Christopher and Sergius on the one side, and Paul Axiartas, the leader of the Lombard party, on the other, are the first in that long series of Roman citizens who for centuries cramped the popes in the exercise of their temporal power, and who

sometimes made themselves masters of the see, to place upon it their creatures or their relatives. It is uncertain, whether the epistle of the pope, in which he warns the two kings, Charles and Carlomann, against their union with two Lombard princesses (which had been suggested by the mother, but which they could effect only by a separation from their lawful wives), were written before or after this letter. Charles took for his wife the daughter of Desiderius, but soon repudiated her to espouse another. This profanation of the sacred rite of marriage is the darkest stain on the character of this king. At the very commencement of the pontificate of Adrian I (772-795), the depredations of the Lombards were renewed. Desiderius seized many of the cities of the exarchate, wished to compel the pope to crown the son of Carlomann, by which act he would have incurred the enmity of Charles, and threatened, when Adrian refused, to march down upon Rome with an army. The pope sought, as his predecessors had done, assistance from the king and patrician Charles, who as Desiderius violated the faith which he had given to restore all that he had taken, passed into Italy in 773, overcame the Lombards, and at Rome, into which city he entered with permission requested from the pope, he confirmed the gift of his father, and according to the account of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, he added to it several provinces in the north and centre of Italy, with Corsica and the dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento. But as after this time, the pope in reality possessed no cities beyond the exarchate, the dukedom of Rome and of Spoleto, it appears that Charles promised more than he afterwards, in other times and circumstances, fulfilled. In 774, after the capture of Desiderius, Charles united the French and Lombard crowns, and continued thenceforth to style himself king of the French and Lombards, and patrician of Rome. Twice after this, Adrian received Charlemagne in Rome, in the year 781, when he crowned his son, the young Pepin, king of the Lombards, and Lewis, king of Aquitaine; and again, in 787, when Charles subdued the

Beneventines, and increased the present to the Roman see, by the gift of several cities which had been ceded by the duke of Benevento, and of some districts in Tuscany.

Adrian was succeeded by Leo III (795-816), who was chosen by the unanimous consent of the Romans. Leo immediately recognized Charlemagne as patrician or guardian of the Church of Rome, by sending to him a banner and the keys of St. Peter, a species of relic which the popes had formed of gold and particles of the iron chains of the holy apostle. He, at the same time, requested the king to depute a plenipotentiary to receive from the Romans the oath of fidelity,—whether to the king as patrician, or to the pontiff, is not clear. In 799, Leo was attacked, severely wounded, and imprisoned by a hostile party, at the head of which were Paschasius and Campulus, relatives of the deceased pope. He escaped to Spoleto, from which city he journeyed to the king, who was then at the camp at Paderborn, to implore his assistance. The king received him with every demonstration of honour, and it is probable that he now consulted with him on his elevation to the dignity of emperor. The pope returned, in company with several French bishops and counts, to Rome: his enemies were sent into France. Charles arrived in Rome in November of the year 800. The enemies of Leo now laid before the king many severe charges against the conduct of the pontiff; but as the French bishops declared that they could not presume to judge him who sat in the see of St. Peter, the pope, of his own free-will, took the canonical oath of purgation. On the following festival of Christmas, the pope crowned Charles as Roman emperor, amidst the acclamations of the people, whilst he knelt before the altar of St. Peter, and anointed him and his son Pepin. Thus, after an interval of three hundred and twenty-five years, was the dignity of Roman emperor renewed, not transferred from the Greeks to the Franks, for the Byzantine emperors were still acknowledged as such by the popes and by the emperors of the west. But the empire of Con-

stantinople, which had oftentimes been the prey of a fortunate adventurer or rude soldier, which had oppressed and persecuted rather than defended the Church, possessed now no more authority in the west ; the Greeks themselves had long looked upon the Italian provinces not as component parts of the empire, but as foreign conquered lands. By their perfect inability to guard them and to protect them against the attacks of the Lombards, they had forfeited their claims to these provinces, and over Rome and the Roman dukedom, the sovereignty of the popes had been established during the course of the eighth century. The popes had recognised the superiority of the Greek emperors only by the insertion of their names and the years of their reign in public records, and by the coining of money bearing their effigies—a practice which had been observed also by the kings of the Franks. Now, therefore, Charles was raised above all the princes and kings of the west ; his rank was no longer inferior but equal to that of emperor of Constantinople ; he, who as patrician had hitherto been the guardian of the Church of Rome, was now, as emperor, the protector and advocate of the entire Church, and as this was destined by its Founder to be extended to all mankind, there was comprised in his power, not only the idea of a pre-eminence above all other princes, but of the empire of the world (*imperium mundi*), in virtue of which, it was his duty to promote the propagation of Christianity even amongst barbarous infidel nations, and to provide in general for the welfare of the Christian Church. The imperial supremacy was naturally extended over the States of the Church, but without any trespass on the authority of the pontiff. The pope continued to be what he had been, lord of Rome, and of the dukedom, and chief of the exarchate ; but recent events had proved that in the troubled state of those countries, and in the unceasing conflicts of powerful parties, the temporal power of the pope could not stand, and that the personal safety of the pontiff called for the assistance of a powerful arm. For this end was instituted the rank of patrician ; and

if Charles as patrician could exercise his power of guardian in Rome, and in its surrounding territory, to his former was now added the imperial dignity, by which Rome was subjected to his *imperium*. But the pope was not, therefore, a subject of the emperor; the Romans, indeed, swore to him an oath of fidelity, that he might continue to possess his advocacy and the jurisdiction connected with it, but they pledged themselves with an express reservation of the fidelity due by them to the Roman pontiff, their sovereign. Neither is it to be supposed that the pope, before independent and free, wished to give to himself and his successors a lord and master, by this restoration of the imperial dignity. Both, however, the pope and the emperor, entered into a state of mutual dependance; each swore to the other an oath of fidelity, that is, of reverence and respect; the emperor acquired his dignity only by the coronation and anointing performed by the pope; whilst the pope, who now stood in need of the assistance of the emperor, as he had before of the patrician, was, as a temporal prince, under the universal imperial dominion; and could not ascend to his high rank without the consent and approbation of the emperor. Pope Leo himself exercised in Rome, in the first year of the new emperor, Lewis, the rights of majesty, by putting to death the leaders of a conspiracy against his life. Lewis, who viewed this as an invasion upon his jurisdiction, sent his nephew, Bernard king of Italy, to Rome, but the papal ambassadors, who in the meantime arrived at his court, pacified him by their representations of the condition in which the pope was placed.

SECTION II.

TO THE DEATH OF SILVESTER II (1003.)*

STEPHEN IV, who was consecrated in June 816, and whose pontificate was of only seven months, being menaced by the Roman factions, caused the citizens to take an oath of fidelity to the emperor. He then immediately travelled into France, where he was received by Lewis, who thrice prostrated before him, with every mark of honour. At Rheims, the emperor was crowned by the pontiff, although he had been before designated emperor by his father in 813, and at an assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, had placed the crown on his own head. Paschal I (817-824) was consecrated immediately after his election, and contrary to the synodal decree of his predecessor, before the arrival and co-operation of the imperial ambassadors. The pope pleaded as an exculpation the violence which was offered to him ; which the emperor not only received, but sent to the pontiff a document, which confirmed the gift of his father to the Church ; but whether the diploma, which now exists, bearing the name of Lewis, be genuine or not, is very doubtful ; for together with Sardinia, Lower Italy and Sicily, which then belonged to the Greeks, are therein presented to the apostolic see. Lothaire I, the son of Lewis, who had been named co-emperor by his father in 817, was crowned at Rome in 823, by the pope. When, some time after, two noble Romans were put to death, as it was said on account of their connexion with Lothaire, the emperor sent to

* Anastasius Bib. Theganus, Nithardus, Paschasii Radberti, Vita S. Adalhardi, in the Bollandists, ad 2 Januar.; Guilelmi Vita Hadriani II et Stephani VI, in Anastasius; The Fuldian and Bertinian Annals; Regino—Flodoardi Liber de Romanis Pontificibus (from 715 to 935) in Muratori Scriptor. Rer. Ital. tom. iii. pt. ii.; Luitprand—Hermannus Contractus; Hincmarus de Divortio Lotharii Regis, Opp. ed. Sirmondus, i. 557; Auxilii Liber super Negotio Formosi, ed. Mabillon, Analecta ejusdem, libri ii. De Ordinationibus a Formoso factis, ed. Bib. Max. PP. tom. xvii.

Rome two plenipotentiaries to examine the affair. The pope, with thirty-four bishops, swore that the act had occurred without their knowledge ; but as the persons executed had been guilty of high-treason against him, Paschal took the authors of their death under his protection, and the emperor was pacified. The election of Eugene II (824-827) was a cause of contention between the party of the people, and the party of the clergy and nobility ; the latter prevailed. The disorders which had of late been occasioned in Rome by the conflicts of parties, induced Lewis to send thither his son, the emperor Lothaire. In conjunction with the pope, Lothaire compelled those who possessed property, which had been unjustly confiscated, to restore it to the lawful owners : the people then took an oath of fidelity to the two emperors, without prejudice to their obedience to the pope, and pledged themselves that each newly-elected pope should take a similar oath, before his consecration, in presence of an imperial ambassador and the people, such as Eugene had of his own will taken : namely, that it was his desire to shew to the emperor the honour that was due to him as protector of the Church. The constitution which Lothaire at the same time promulgated, lays before us in the clearest light the relation of the imperial and papal power in Rome. By this it was ordained, that no one should punish with death any person who might be under the particular protection of the pope or of the emperor ; that all should obey the pope, and the dukes and judges appointed by him ; that annually, a commissioner who should be appointed by the pope and the emperor, should report to the latter the administration of justice, and the observance of the constitution ; that complaints against the dukes and judges should be submitted to the pope, that he might answer them immediately by his nuncios, or refer them to the emperor ; that all property which had been unjustly taken from the apostolic see should be restored ; that all dukes and judges should appear at Rome before the pope, that he might learn their names and numbers, and that they might

receive from him instructions on their various duties. Finally, obedience to the pope in all things was strictly enjoined to all persons. The pope, therefore, was the actual sovereign of Rome and the Roman territory, although the emperor as guardian of the Roman Church exercised a degree of jurisdiction, which in the then reigning spirit of discontent and faction, was a support and protection to the pope himself, who without it, might have often fallen a prey to one party or the other.

Valentine, after a short pontificate of a few weeks, was followed by Gregory IV. As, according to the established order, the pope could not be consecrated before the arrival of the imperial ambassador, the consecration of Gregory was preceded, as had been that of Valentine, by the ceremony of enthronization. This pope was engaged in the unhappy contest between the emperor Lewis and his sons, and was necessitated, contrary to his own will, to co-operate in its ignominious issue. Lewis feeling, in 817, his inability to govern alone his vast empire, associated with himself in the administration the sons of his first marriage. Lothaire was made co-emperor; Pepin, king of Aquitaine; and Lewis, king of Bavaria. His nephew Bernard, king of Italy, rose in arms against the elevation of Lothaire, and lost his life in 818. But, in 829, Lewis saw his own sons arrayed against him; when, led away by the persuasion of his second wife, Judith, he caused her son Charles (afterwards known by the name of the Bald) to be anointed king of Swabia, Rhætia, and a part of Burgundy, and conferred a too extensive power upon Bernard count of Barcelona, who was intimately connected with Judith. An insurrection, headed by Pepin and Lothaire, placed the emperor in the hands of his sons; but at the diet of Nimwegen, in 831, he was liberated by a reaction of the people. But in 833, as Lewis continued to follow the suggestions of his machinating consort, and thought only of the elevation of his son Charles, a new insurrection broke out. The three elder brothers, who were leagued together, marched against their father; and influential prelates, Agobard of Lyons,

the abbots Wala and Helisachar, and the hitherto faithful Ebbo of Rheims, favoured and supported their enterprise. Gregory IV thought himself called upon, by his right and by his duty, to enter as mediator and pacificator into this contest, most prejudicial to the interests of the state and the Church. That the emperor Lothaire, who had been crowned by the holy see, with the consent of Lewis, and who had from the time of his coronation exercised the imperial authority in Italy, should now deprive himself of his rank, could not be borne by the pope : his opposition to this would necessarily place him on the side of Lothaire ; and his appearance in Germany in company with Lothaire raised against him the suspicion of partiality. The report, that he sought to bring over those bishops who adhered to Lewis to the party of the three brothers, by a threat of excommunication, had preceded him, and excited these bishops to menace him with the like censure. When the two armies faced each other in battle-array on the field of Colmar, Gregory advanced from the army of the confederates and entered into conference with Lewis. But already had the majority of the emperor's followers been won by the arts of his sons. Gregory, who, after some days, returned to the camp, to lay before them the issue of his conference, was detained by them, and the news, that the pope would not again return to the camp of Lewis, was the signal for an almost general defection, which placed the defenceless and aged emperor at the mercy of his sons. The pope thus beheld himself compelled, against his will and with the bitterest feelings of sorrow, to concur in the completion of an unjustifiable deed, and to return to Rome, leaving unloosened the entangled knot. Lewis was forced by his son Lothaire into the abbey of St. Medard at Soissons : at the diet of Compeigne he was deposed ; and to render him incapable of bearing arms, and consequently of asserting his claims to his crown, he was subjected by Ebbo of Rheims to public canonical penance, and was compelled to read a public confession of his sins. The universal detestation of this abuse of religion, and the unmerited sufferings of the aged

monarch, called to arms the other two brothers. Lewis was again solemnly invested with the imperial dignity : Ebbo of Rheims resigned his archbishopric, and Agobard of Lyons was deposed.

Sergius II (844-847) was consecrated immediately after his election, without the knowledge of the emperor Lothaire, and before the arrival of the imperial envoy, probably to secure himself against the attempts of a deacon named John, who sought to place himself by violence in the holy see. Lothaire was so indignant at this precipitation, that he sent his son Lewis to Rome with an army, which laid waste the states of the Church as if they had been the territory of an enemy. The pope received the king on the steps of the church of St. Peter : he suffered the gates of the basilica to be opened only when the king declared that he entertained no hostile designs ; he then crowned him king of the Lombards, but resolutely rejected the requisition that the nobility of Rome should take the oath of fidelity to him, a claim which could be advanced only by the emperor.

Leo IV (847-855) was elected in that fearful time when the Saracens menaced even Rome with an attack. He was, therefore, consecrated before an imperial delegate could arrive, but with the protestation, that the right of the emperor was not thereby infringed. To him the emperor Lothaire, in 850, sent his son, Lewis II, to receive from his hands the imperial crown. In the year 853, Alfred, the son of the English king Ethelwulf, arrived in Rome, and was anointed king and adopted as his son by the pontiff. Between Leo and his immediate successor Benedict, fable has placed the female pope Joan. This fiction is not found in any historian from the ninth to the eleventh century, but appears first in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, in the chronicles of Marianus Scotus and Martinus Polonus. It is void of all historical foundation and has been defended only as a paradox by later authors.*

* Should a further refutation of this absurd invention be required, see an able critical dissertation in Palma's *Prælectiones, Hist. Eccl. Romæ*.

After the death of Leo, Benedict III (855-858) was unanimously elected. A faction, of which Arsenius bishop of Gubbio was the moving soul, supported by the representatives of the emperor, raised, in opposition to Benedict, the cardinal priest Anastasius, who, in a synod, had been deposed by Leo. But the firmness of the bishops, of the clergy, and of the people, in their resolve to recognise as pope no other than Benedict, finally compelled the envoys to abandon Anastasius. Benedict was then solemnly consecrated in their presence. After him, Nicholas I (858-867) was elected in presence of the emperor Lewis II, consecrated, and crowned—the first instance of the papal coronation. When, some time after, he paid a visit to the emperor, in his camp near Rome, Lewis, for a considerable distance, conducted his horse by the bridle. The pontificate of Nicholas fell in troublous times. He found himself obliged to enter into a severe contest against depraved morals and venal prelates, a contest, however, from which the papal power came forth victorious and strengthened. The splendour of the mighty monarchy of the Franks was now extinguished. The degenerate grandsons of Charlemagne, after the death of their father, were arrayed in arms against each other, to win the greater portions of the inheritance: the battle of Fontenay, in 841, cast to the ground the imperial dignity, in the person of the conquered Lothaire; the unity of the kingdom which it represented was in fact destroyed; the pride of the nobility of France was annihilated, and by the convention of Verdun, in 843, four self-existing, independent kingdoms, were created in the place of the ancient monarchy. By this convention Pepin acquired Aquitaine; Charles the Bald, Neustria; Lewis, Germany; and Lothaire, Burgundy and Provence. A short time before his death, 855, Lothaire made another division of his kingdom amongst his three sons, assigning Italy to the emperor Lewis II, to Lothaire the province called from him Lotharingia, now Lorraine, comprising the countries between the Rhine, the Scheld, and the Meuse; and Provence to

Charles. The weak and vicious Lothaire endeavoured to separate from his wife Theitberge, that he might be enabled to marry another woman, named Waldrade. The alleged motive for the divorce was an unnatural crime of which he pretended that Theitberge had been guilty before her marriage, with her brother, the abbot Hugbert. She consented to submit to the ordeal of boiling water, and as she passed through it unharmed, she was declared innocent. But it was not long before Lothaire renewed his attempts to reduce her to a confession of her crime. Theitberge yielded at length to persecution, and in 860, before a council of bishops, who were all devoted to the king, she declared herself guilty. She was compelled to repeat this declaration before an assembly of bishops at Frankfort, where she was condemned to a course of public penance ; but she had previously warned the pope to pay no regard to any confession that might be violently extorted from her. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, wrote a work in defence of the injured queen, in which he proved the obligation that existed of awaiting in this cause the decision of the Roman see. The pope had before answered to the question of Ado, archbishop of Vienne, that a wife accused of crimes committed before marriage could not on that account be repudiated. Another synod, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 862, at which were present the all-serving archbishops Gunther of Cologne and Thietgaud of Treves, together with the no less servile bishops of Metz, Verdun, Toul, Tongers, Utrecht, and Strasburg, complied with the desire of Lothaire, and permitted him to espouse Waldrade. In the meantime Thietberge, who had found an asylum in the court of Charles the Bald, claimed, with protestations of her innocence, the protection of the pontiff, and Charles himself required of his nephew to submit to the judgment of the pope and bishops in the cause of his divorce. Nicholas, whom Lothaire hypocritically requested to send his legates to a new synod, convoked an assembly at Metz, at which, with the prelates of Lorraine, bishops from Provence, also from Neustria and Ger-

many, were to be present. When he heard that Lothaire had anticipated their sentence, and had indeed married Waldrade, he called upon the French and German bishops in a circular letter to join with his legates in pronouncing a canonical sentence upon Lothaire, whom he threatened with excommunication. But the legates suffered themselves to be corrupted by Lothaire, and the synod of Metz terminated, in 863, with a justification of the king, whose divorce was now grounded on a pretended previous marriage with Waldrade, and with a commission to Gunther and Thietgaud to lay before the pope the motives of their decision. Nicholas, who had been informed of these proceedings by a letter from the Neustrian bishops, convened a council at Rome: the two archbishops, who arrived during its sittings, were deposed; the acts of the synod at Metz were annulled; and the other bishops who had therein taken part were threatened with deprivation, unless they should ask pardon of the holy see and submit themselves to its judgment. Gunther and Thietgaud betook themselves to the emperor Lewis, who was then at Beneventum, and by persuading him that the conduct of the pope towards his brother was an implied insult to himself, they induced him to lead an army against Rome. His troops attacked a procession with which the pope was passing through the city. Nicholas fled into St. Peter's church; but the sudden death of a soldier who had trodden the holy cross in the mire, and a disease with which Lewis was assailed, in a short time changed his sentiments: he listened to the representations of the pontiff, and left Rome. In vain did Gunther, by the hands of his brother Halduin, lay upon the tomb of St. Peter a deed of protest; in vain did he and Thietgaud endeavour to excite the other bishops of Lorraine to make common cause of opposition against the pope, who, they said, raised himself to an equality with the apostles, and assumed power as if he were emperor of the whole earth: so far did they go, as to seek for support from Photius, who had at the same time been deposed by Nicholas. Lothaire himself wrote a

submissive letter to the pope, offered to attend in person at Rome, and presented to the pontiff only a petition in favour of Gunther and Thietgaud. Adventius bishop of Metz and Franco bishop of Tongers were the first who sought for pardon and absolution : Thietgaud of his own will abstained from his episcopal functions. The kings Lewis and Charles the Bald sent, at the request of the pope, ambassadors to their nephew, imploring him to remove the scandal which he had raised in the Church by his divorce. With the advice of his bishops, Lothaire banished Gunther from his church. He however revenged himself, for he went to Rome, where he unveiled to the pope the entire system of fraud and violence that had been practised. The papal legate Arsenius now announced to Lothaire the sentence of excommunication that awaited him, unless he should immediately separate from Waldrade, and take to himself again Thietberge as his lawful wife. Lothaire, fearing lest his uncles might make his excommunication a pretext for invading his states, promised all that was required of him ; but it was not long before he recalled Waldrade, who, in apparent penitence, had followed the legates into Italy. The pontiff then at length, in 866, pronounced sentence of excommunication against her. Lothaire, that he might free himself from the presence of Thietberge, accused her of adultery ; and this persecuted woman herself implored the pope to pronounce a judgment of separation, and to permit her to enter into a cloister. But the unmovable and indefatigable Nicholas wrote to her, to the bishops of Lorraine, to Lothaire and to Charles the Bald, reminding each of what was their duty in this conjuncture. Whilst Lothaire in the most humble manner wrote to assure the pope that he had not seen Waldrade since the departure of the legate, Thietberge was compelled to retire before unceasing persecution into the territories of Charles the Bald. Thus affairs stood when Nicholas died.

With equal firmness and constancy did this pontiff act in other circumstances. John archbishop of Ra-

venna, who had long oppressed and plundered the churches and inhabitants of Ravenna, Æmilia, and the Pentapolis, was called by him to answer for his conduct before a synod at Rome; and, as he refused to appear, was excommunicated. John called to his aid the assistance of the emperor, who sent delegates with him to Rome; but the pope, at the request of the principal citizens of Ravenna, visited that city, and commanded the restitution of all that had been usurped by John and his brothers. John was compelled again to journey to Rome, whither he was sent by the emperor, and to submit to all the conditions prescribed by Nicholas. The controversy between this pope and the archbishop Hincmar, are found in another part of this history.

When Adrian II. (867-872) was chosen, the imperial delegates, who were then at Rome, expressed their indignation that they had not been present at the election; but they were pacified when they had been assured that they had not been called, lest their presence might be hereafter alleged as a proof that the imperial ambassadors had a right to assist at the election, as well as at the consecration, of the popes. Adrian so closely followed the model given to him by his great predecessor, that the enemies of Nicholas named him a Nicholaite. Lothaire, who hoped to find the new pontiff more flexible, wrote him a flattering letter, in which he requested that he might be called his son. Thietberge appeared in person at Rome to obtain the dissolution of her marriage; but the pope insisted that she should return to the court of her husband, and menaced Lothaire with excommunication if he should refuse to receive her as his lawful wife. In the meantime, having received from the emperor an assurance of the repentance of Waldrade, he removed from her the sentence of excommunication, so that some zealous bishops, such as Ado of Vienne, thought it their duty to warn him against too great a compliance in this affair. In 869, Lothaire went into Italy, and accompanied by his cousin, the empress Ingelberge, entered the abbey of Monte

Cassino with the pope. It was his particular desire, in order not to be considered excommunicated, to receive the holy communion from the hands of Adrian. The pope consented to administer it to him, but conjured him not to receive the body of our Lord, if he had been in connexion with Waldrade since her excommunication by Nicholas, and unless he were firmly resolved ever to remain separate from her; he administered the sacrament to the nobles in the suite of the king, with the condition that they were conscious of no participation or consent in the acts of Lothaire and Waldrade. Only a few retired from the altar; Lothaire and most of his followers received the holy communion in spite of the guilt of their conscience. Amongst the attendants of Lothaire was Gunther, the late Archbishop of Cologne, who now professed his submission to the papal judgment and was admitted by the pope to lay communion. Adrian then appointed legates, who were to examine, with the bishops of Lorraine, the case of the divorce, and to report their decision to him. But Lothaire and all the nobles who had received the communion from the pope, died within a few days on their return through Italy. Thietberge and Waldrade retired into monasteries.

Adrian laboured earnestly to preserve the order of succession in the kingdom of Lothaire to the rightful heir, the emperor Lewis, who was then engaged in defending the states of the Church and central Italy against the inroads of the Saracens; but neither his letters nor his legates could prevent Charles the Bald from causing himself to be crowned at Metz in 869, by Hincmar of Rheims and the bishops of Lorraine (the sees of Cologne and Treves were still vacant), as sovereign of that kingdom. Charles then ceded to Lewis, king of Germany, the territory on the opposite bank of the Meuse, and on the left of the Rhine from Utrecht to Basil. Of this division the pope had not been informed, when in 870 he sent another epistle, and an embassy of five prelates, to Charles, with the most direct requisition that he should renounce his unjust

possession of those countries ; and in a letter to Hincmar, he required that prelate and the other French bishops to withdraw from the communion of Charles, should he persevere in his usurpation. Whilst thus the pontiff fought boldly in the cause of justice, he tarnished his fame, by receiving under his protection as an innocent victim of persecution, Carlomann, the unworthy son of the king, who as an apostate monk had been threatened with excommunication, in punishment of his shameful vices. Thus did he injure his own authority ; his legates returned to Rome, leaving affairs unsettled. Charles sent ambassadors and presents to the pope, but only that he might not be further molested in the possession of his kingdom, and Hincmar, in an apparently respectful letter to Adrian, represented to him, that he could not, without the greatest prejudice to the Church, separate from the communion of the king ; that no preceding pontiff had ever required such a thing ; that the French Church and the country of Lorraine stood in need of powerful protection against the incursions of the Normans, such as could not be given by the distant emperor. The emperor caused himself to be crowned king of Lorraine, in 872. He obtained the title and no more. Adrian then withdrew from the contest the more willingly, as he now found himself in a new controversy, on account of Hincmar of Laon, with the king and the archbishop of Rheims.

John VIII (872-882) was the first pope, who since the restoration of the imperial dignity in the west, had to decide on the claims of contending rivals for the crowns. These were the brothers and uncles of Lewis, who died in 875. John gave the preference to Charles the Bald, who, by a rapid march over the Alps, anticipated the German monarch, and was crowned at Rome, on the festival of Christmas, in 876. Charles confirmed to the holy see all its possession and rites, and at a diet at Pavia, in presence of the assembled bishops and counts, was proclaimed, as he had been placed over the empire by the pontiff, king of Italy. The pope, after repeated warnings, threatened the king of Germany with excom-

munication, should he presume, in pursuing his claims to the empire and kingdom of Italy, to invade the states of his brother. In Rome, a powerful party, at the head of which were Formosus, bishop of Porto, and Gregory Nomenclator, dissatisfied with the elevation of Charles, aimed at a revolution, for which its chiefs were excommunicated by the pope. Soon after, John was compelled to send urgent letters to the emperor, to implore his aid against the Saracens, who were laying waste the country around Rome. In 877, Charles marched into Italy, but returned from it in haste before his nephew Carlomann, and died on his retreat. In France, he was succeeded by his son Lewis the Stammerer. In Italy Carlomann was elected king, and by promises to exalt the Church of Rome, even beyond the point to which his predecessors had raised it, endeavoured to obtain for himself the imperial crown; the condition imposed by the pope was the confirmation of former grants and privileges. But Carlomann was prevented, probably by illness, from visiting Rome: John was compelled to purchase peace from the Saracens by the payment of an oppressive tribute; the neighbouring duke of Spoleto joined in the faction opposed to the pope in Rome, and so far prevailed against him as to compel him to seek for safety by flight across the sea (the way by land was closed against him), into France. He here held a synod at Troyes, to which he had invited, but in vain, the three German kings, Carlomann, Lewis II, and Charles III. Not having obtained in France, which could not defend itself against the Normans, the desired assistance, the pope returned into Italy, and in virtue of his authority as vicar of the kingdom of Italy, to which office he had been named by Carlomann, he convoked a diet to meet at Pavia, in 879, which, however, was never held. That during the weak state of the infirm Carlomann, the pope offered the Italian and imperial crowns to the count Boso, who was afterwards the first king of Provence, cannot be shown, and is not probable; he turned rather to the brother of Carlomann, Charles le Gros, whom he crowned emperor in 881, but

in the hopes of whose assistance he was disappointed. John died in December 882, after his last days had been embittered by the view of the incursions of the Saracens, and of the general devastation of Italy. The extensive collection of his epistles is a standing memorial of his untiring energy ; that he, more frequently than any of his predecessors, pronounced sentence of excommunication against bishops and powerful laics, must be ascribed to the prevailing depravity of the age, and to that state of hard necessity to which the see of Rome was then reduced.

Marinus I (882-884) was the first pope who, before his elevation to the papal see, had received episcopal consecration. He absolved Formosus from the censures which had been pronounced against him by John VIII ; but prohibited him from ever entering either Rome or Porto. He had an interview with the emperor Charles at Modena, in 883, but which, so great was now the weakness of the empire, appears to have been followed by no important result. Adrian III died in 883, on a journey which he had undertaken at the desire of the emperor, to attend an assembly at Worms. Stephen V was consecrated immediately after his election, probably in virtue of a decree of Adrian III, that for the future the newly-elected pontiff should not await the arrival of the imperial delegates before his consecration. The emperor wished to depose him, but Stephen sent to the emperor the deed of his election, to which the names of all the voters were attached, and was no more molested. It was not long before the weak and impotent Charles was himself dethroned in Germany. After his death, in 888, the kingdom of the Franks, which had been for the last time united under him, was again divided : the Germans chose Arnulf, a natural son of Carlomann ; the West Franks, count Odo of Paris, to be their kings. Besides the south Burgundian kingdom, founded by Boso, there now arose a north Burgundian kingdom under Rudolf, a grandson of Lewis the Pious. In Italy, Guido duke of Spoleto, and Berengarius duke of Friuli, contended for the crown : the former, who was prefer-

red to Berengarius, was crowned by the pope, as emperor, in 891. Stephen died soon after this event, and was succeeded by Formosus (891-896), who had been deprived by John VIII, but to whom the succeeding pontiffs had given their confidence. As he was already a bishop, he was not consecrated, but was solemnly enthroned. In 892 he crowned Lambert, the son of Guido, as co-emperor: but when he looked upon the melancholy state of Italy, and the incapability of Guido and Lambert to apply a remedy thereto by the establishment of a permanent government, he called in the assistance of the German king Arnulf. After the death of Guido, Arnulf marched into Italy: he took Rome, into which city the mother of Lambert had thrown herself, by storm; he liberated the pope from his confinement, and in 896 received from his hands the imperial crown. The Romans, with the reservation of their obedience to the pope, took an oath of fidelity to the new emperor. But Arnulf could not long delay in Italy, and now the see of Rome began to experience the effects of the universal confusion and of that savage-like degeneracy of manners which now everywhere prevailed. Boniface VI was raised to the papal throne after the death of Formosus by a popular commotion; but he survived his consecration only fifteen days. The party that had always been hostile to Formosus succeeded in the election of one of their own body, Stephen VI. This pope sacrificed the honour of the apostolic see to the revengeful spirit of his party: he permitted the corpse of Formosus to be disinterred; he convoked a synod in which Formosus was condemned, because, contrary to the canons, he had forsaken his church of Porto, and had intruded himself into the see of Rome. This sentence was executed by indignities offered to his dead body: finally, all those who had been ordained by him were suspended. The simple translation from one episcopal see to another could not justify these proceedings, for, as we have seen, it was the same with pope Marinus, who, before his election to the supreme pontificate, had been bishop of Cervetri.

This the enemies of Formosus knew, and they therefore added to their accusations this other, that he had caused himself to be a second time consecrated. But the French priest Auxilius, who had been ordained by Formosus, and who in several works defended his ordinations, and his actions in general, proved this to have been a calumny. Stephen objected also to recognise as emperor Arnulf, who had been crowned by Formosus : he passed over to the side of Lambert ; but in 897 he was cast into prison by a Roman faction, and strangled. He was succeeded by Romanus, after whose early death Theodore II was elected, whose brief pontificate gave him only time sufficient to order the body of Formosus to be drawn from the Tiber, into which it had been cast, and to restore to their offices those who had been ordained by him. John IX, whom the party of Formosus elected in 898, was opposed by Sergius, an enemy of that pontiff. John, in a Roman synod, cancelled all that had been previously decreed against Formosus : the acts of the synod holden under Stephen VI were given to the flames. At the same time the election and coronation of Lambert, and the rejection of Arnulf, were confirmed ; and the decree of Stephen IV, in 816, regarding the consecration of the newly-elected pope in presence of the imperial delegates, was renewed. Both the pope and Lambert, in 898, held a numerous ecclesiastical and civil assembly at Ravenna, where the pontiff represented, in the strongest terms, the misery of the States of the Church, which were exposed to unceasing ravages, and the entire impoverishment of his see.

Now followed in rapid succession Benedict IV (900-903) and Leo V, who, in 903, was dethroned and cast into prison by Christopher. Sergius III, to whom Christopher was compelled to give way, and who, as he belonged to the anti-Formosian party, confirmed all the acts of Stephen VI against Formosus. At this period, Berengarius of Friuli and Lewis king of Provence contested with varying success the throne of Italy ; and to fill up the measure of the country's woes, the Ma-

gyari now commenced their depredations. The Roman see, after the short pontificates of Anastasius III (911-913) and of Lando, appears to have been in a state of disgraceful dependence on certain Roman women, who, influential as they were capricious, placed therein their favourites or sons ; a state in which the papal see might have been compared to a captive in chains, to whom, being deprived of freedom, we are not to impute the disgrace which he endures. John X, who had been bishop of Bologna, and afterwards archbishop of Ravenna, was elected pope through the influence of a female named Theodora, to whom his personal appearance, it is said, recommended him. But this history, and much more that is told of female domination at this time in Rome, may be justly suspected, as the only writer whose testimony can be given is the credulous Luitprand. This author appeals to a written life of Theodora, which might be denominated rather a satirical libel or romance than a serious biography. Thus Luitprand writes that the pope John XI was the son of Sergius III and of Merozia, the sister of Theodora, whilst all contemporary historians assert that he was the son of Merozia and of Alberich duke of Camerino. John crowned Berengarius emperor, and saved central Italy, by a victory over the Saracens at Garigliano. The powerful Marozia, who then held possession of the castle of St. Angelo, cast the pontiff into prison, where it is probable that he died a violent death. Leo VI died a few months, Stephen VII two years, after his election. John XI was then raised, by the intrigues of his mother, to the papal throne ; but being confined by his brother Alberich in the castle of St. Angelo, he was compelled to resign to him all power in Rome. He was succeeded in 936 by the holy Leo VII, and in 939 by Stephen VIII (IX). This pontiff threatened with excommunication the French nobles, who, until Christmas of 942, refused to submit to their king, Lewis, the son of Charles the Simple. Marinus II (943-946) and Agapite (946-955) were pontiffs of blameless character. During the pontificate of the latter, there occurred in

Italy great, and to the Roman see important, events. Hugo of Provence, who as husband of Marozia had acquired the dominion of Rome, but who had been driven from that city by his step-son Alberich, had by his timid, and at the same time tyrannical, government of the kingdom of Italy, gained for himself such general odium, that when Berengarius, the margrave of Ivrea, grandson of Berengarius I, marched from Germany into Italy, in 946, Hugo was obliged to abandon the kingdom, leaving to his son Lothaire the name of king, whilst the sovereign power fell into the hands of Berengarius. After the sudden death of Lothaire, in 950, Berengarius and his son Adalbert were crowned kings of Italy at Pavia. But now the victorious king of the Germans, Otho I, was invited by the friends of Adelaide, the injured widow of Lothaire, and by others who were not content with Berengarius, to receive, together with the hand of the queen, the kingdom of Lombardy. Otho, supported by Manasses, the powerful archbishop of Milan, entered Pavia towards the end of 951, espoused Adelaide, and styled himself in his decrees king of Italy. He then requested of the pope to allow him to march into Rome, but this, Agapite, compelled probably by Alderich, refused. After his return into Germany, Berengarius, accompanied by many of the Italian nobles, was present at the diet of Augsburg, where he received the kingdom of Italy as a fief from Otho, and took the oath of fidelity to him.

At Rome, after the death of Agapite, in 956, Octavian, a youth of only eighteen years of age, the son of the Roman tyrant Alberich, seized for himself possession of the papal throne. He named himself—the first example of such a change—John XII. Driven to extremes by the oppressions of Berengarius and his son, the pope, in concurrence with the bishops and nobles of Italy, called for the assistance of Otho. This prince, before he left Germany, promised with an oath that he would preserve uninjured the possessions and rights of the Roman see, that he would protect the pontiff, and not intrude upon his sovereignty of Rome. He then

marched a second time into Italy, received at Milan, in 961, the crown of Lombardy, and at Rome obtained from the pope the imperial diadem, which had now been for thirty-eight years without a wearer. Thus commenced the connexion between the Italian and the German states, between the imperial and the German regal dignities. Now, if ever, Otho published the celebrated but much-contested diploma, by which all former donations to the see of Rome were confirmed, and the dukedoms of Spoleto and Beneventum, Tuscany and Sicily (should Otho subdue this island), were added to the possessions of the States of the Church, with the reservation, however, of the imperial supremacy over the dukedoms. The freedom, moreover, of the papal elections was guaranteed, the pope engaging to bind himself, before his consecration and in presence of the imperial delegates, to govern according to law and right. The provisions relating to the administration of justice are similar to those contained in the constitution of Lothaire.

Otho, soon after his departure from Rome, received many complaints against the shameless and scandalous conduct of John. The emperor sought to excuse him. "He is but a boy," he said, "and may amend." But John now endeavoured to persuade the Hungarians to invade Italy, and united himself with Adalbert, with the design to raise him to the imperial throne, and to extinguish in Italy the power of Otho. Adalbert had already arrived in Rome, at the invitation of the pope, when Otho, requested by the Romans who remained faithful to his cause, hastened thither, in 963. After the flight of John and Adalbert, the Romans swore to the emperor that they would allow no pope to take possession of the see of Rome who had not received the approbation of Otho and of his son Otho II. The emperor then convened a synod at Rome, in which there were present forty Italian and German bishops and sixteen cardinals. Here John was arraigned by the bishops and cardinals of simony, perjury, murder, and sacrilege: he was accused of having converted the

Lateran palace into a house of dissipation, of having placed a boy of ten years of age in the see of Todi, and to have uttered, at a feast of riot and drunkenness, words of blasphemy. To a citation that was sent to him, he replied, "that if they presumed to elect a new pontiff, he would excommunicate them." He was now accused by the emperor of treason, and was declared deposed. With the consent of Otho, Leo, chancellor of the Roman Church, a layman, was, contrary to the canons, elected pope. If it be true that a pope—and Octavian, notwithstanding his usurpation, was pope, by the acknowledgment of the universal Church and of Otho himself—can be deposed only on account of heresy or of an obstinate maintenance of error, and then only by an œcumenical council, this proceeding, whatever appearance of right the emperor and his synod may have had, was most assuredly contrary to all law, and was therefore to be condemned.

An attack which the Romans, who, since the year 964, had become embittered against the German domination, made upon Otho and his few troops, failed indeed, but after the departure of Otho, John XII returned to Rome, raged cruelly against the chiefs of his opponents, and after the antipope had fled from the city he convened a synod of sixteen bishops and twelve cardinal priests, the majority of whom had taken part in the preceding assembly. Here the acts of that assembly were cancelled: Leo VIII and the bishops who had consecrated him were deposed, and all who had been ordained by Leo were compelled to acknowledge in writing that their ordination was invalid. Soon after, John XII died, as we are told by the Continuator of Luitprand, from the effects of a wound received in a nightly debauch. Instead of closing the schism by the election of Leo VIII, the Romans chose a new pope, Benedict V, who threatened with excommunication the emperor, who was then encamped before the city. Rome was forced to open its gates to Otho and to the antipope. Leo presided over a synod which had been hastily assembled, in which the weak-minded

Benedict prostrated himself before him, and with a confession of his fault implored pardon. Otho conducted Benedict into Germany, and consigned him to the custody of the bishop of Hamburg. After the death of Leo VIII the Romans besought the emperor to restore Benedict; but as he had also in the meantime died, John XIII was elected, in presence of the ambassadors of Otho, Otgar bishop of Spire, and Luitprand bishop of Cremona. A faction of powerful Romans seized and held in captivity the newly-elected pontiff, until he found an asylum in the court of Pandolf prince of Capua. Otho thereupon marched into Italy, for the third time, in 966. He visited with severe punishment, first the adherents of Adalbert in Lombardy, and upon his arrival in Rome, inflicted a heavy judgment upon the authors of the last insurrection: thirteen of the chiefs were hanged, beheaded, or deprived of sight. In a synod at Ravenna, in 967, Otho restored to the pope possession of the exarchate, which had been seized by the last kings of Italy. This province, however, cannot have been long retained by the Roman see, for soon after this period we find the Venetians masters of Ferrara, Comacchio, Ravenna, and other cities of the exarchate. John now crowned as emperor Otho II, a youth of fourteen years of age.

After the death of John in 972, Benedict VI was elected in the presence of the ambassadors of the emperor. Scarcely had the intelligence of the death of Otho the Great arrived in Rome, when the ancient spirit of rebellion and lawlessness revived in the city. Crescentius, the son of the famed Theodora, in union with the ambitious cardinal Boniface Franco, seized the person of the pope, and caused him to be murdered in prison. Boniface endeavoured to place himself in the vacant see, but the Romans rose against him, and compelled him to seek for safety in flight. Donus II was elected, but he survived his election only a few days. Otho II now wished to direct the election in favour of Majolus, the abbot of Cluny; but the holy man declined the proffered honour, as the manners of the

Romans were so repugnant to his, that to rule them would be to him a difficult undertaking. Benedict VII bishop of Sutri, of the family of the counts of Tusculum, was therefore elected in 975. He threatened with excommunication the turbulent Boniface, and died, it is probable, in 983; for in that year Otho II, a short time before his death, procured the election of his chancellor, Peter bishop of Pavia, who named himself John XIV. But Boniface now returned from Constantinople, and, supported by a powerful faction in Rome, cast the pope into the castle of St. Angelo, where he died of hunger. No one in the city could or would oppose the usurper. Happily, he died after a few months, and the populace revenged themselves by the indignities which they offered to his corpse. John XV next ascended the papal throne, but so oppressive was the state of dependance on the despotic patrician and consul Crescentius, that he invited to Rome the young Otho III to receive the imperial crown. Otho proceeded into Italy in 996. At Ravenna, he heard of the death of the pontiff, and directed the Roman embassy, which consulted him although he was not yet emperor, on the choice of a successor to the deceased pope, to elect his cousin Bruno, a son of the Flemish duke Otho, and of Luitgarden, a daughter of Otho the Great. Bruno, although only twenty-four years of age, was elected, named himself Gregory V, and crowned Otho emperor. But scarcely had the young emperor returned into Germany, when Crescentius, for whom Gregory by his intercession had obtained pardon, obliged the pope to flee from Rome, and gave to Philagathus, bishop of Piacenza, a Greek from Calabria, his powerful assistance in his usurpation of the papal see. In a synod at Pavia Gregory passed on Crescentius sentence of excommunication. Otho marched upon Rome, and the antipope endeavoured to avoid him by flight. But he was kept in confinement by the people, and after the entry of Otho and Gregory into Rome, he was barbarously mutilated and insulted, after the manner of the Greeks, in public. Crescentius and twelve of his adherents were

beheaded. Gregory died in 999 ; and now, for the first time, a native of France was raised to the papal see. This was Gerbert, the tutor of Otho III. He was born in Auvergne, and was first a monk in the cloister of Aurillac, then abbot of Bobbio, and afterwards director of the school of Rheims, in which capacity we have seen him in the controversies on the eucharist.* In 992, after the deprivation of Arnulf, archbishop of Rheims, he succeeded to that see ; but being deposed by John XV in 995, he followed his scholar Otho into Italy, where he obtained the archbishopric of Ravenna. From Ravenna he was transferred to Rome, with the title of Silvester II.

SECTION III.

TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER II (1073).†

AFTER the death of Silvester, in 1003, John XVI and John XVII (generally called John XVIII) succeeded, in a short space of time : they were followed, in 1009, by Sergius IV and, in 1012, by Benedict VIII, of the family of the counts of Tusculum, who were now all-powerful at Rome. A man named Gregory, who contested the pontificate with him, and who stood at the head of a strong party, drove him from Rome. Benedict fled to the court of the German king Henry II, and implored him to assist him. The king marched into Italy in 1013, and in 1014 arrived in Rome, where, when he had vowed to be for ever a true defender of the Roman Church, and had promised fidelity to the pope and his successors, he and his queen Cunigunde

* See page 71.

† Dithmar of Merseberg ; Glaber Radulphus ; Landulphus, the Elder and the Younger ; Leonis Ostiensis *Chronicon Cassinense* ; Desiderii (Victoris III) *Dialog. libri iii.* in *Biblioth. Max. PP.* tom. xviii. ; Bonizonis *Lutrensis Episcopi*, in *Oefele, Scriptores Rerum Boicarum*, tom. ii. ; Brunonis *Signiensis Vita Leonis IX.* in *Biblioth. Max. PP.* tom. xx. ; Wiberti *Vita Leonis IX.* in *Mabillon, Acta SS. O.S.B. Sæc. VI.* pt. ii. ; *S. Petri Damiani Epistolæ et Opuscula*, ed. Cetari, Romæ, 1606, fol.

received from Benedict the imperial dignity. Dithmar of Merseberg remarks that Benedict acted in his pontificate with greater freedom and independence than had been exercised by his immediate predecessors. He defeated the Saracens, who assailed him from Sardinia and Tuscany: he gave to the Pisans, who at his instigation drove these enemies of the faith from Sardinia, the feudal tenure of the island; and confirmed to the Church of Ravenna, the bishop of which was Arnold, the brother of the emperor, the donation which had been made by his predecessors of the cities of Ravenna, Bologna, Imola, and Faenza, and in addition to these, of Forli and Cervia. In 1020, Benedict, invited by the emperor, and induced by the progress of the Grecian armies in Lower Italy, visited him at Bamberg. It is probable that Henry there gave to the pope the diploma, which was nearly similar to that of Otho, by which he confirmed all former grants to the Roman see in Italy, the possession of the abbey of Fulda, of all other cloisters subjected immediately to the pope in Germany, and of the recently-founded bishopric of Bamberg, and at the same time renewed the condition, that the pontiff elected by the clergy and people of Rome should be consecrated in presence of his ambassadors. Benedict was succeeded in 1024 by his brother, John XIX, whom, according to the expression of Romuald of Salerno, the same day beheld a layman and pope; so great was then the power of the counts of Tusculum. From him Conrad II, the first German king of the Frank-Salic family, after he had won for himself the crown of Italy, received the diadem of the empire. The counts of Tusculum, who had already seen upon the papal throne their relatives Sergius III, John XI and XII, Benedict VII, and lastly, the two brothers Benedict VIII and John XIX, wished to make the Roman see an inheritance in their family; and count Alberich, the brother of the deceased John XIX, effected, by means of rich bribes of gold, the election of his son Theophylactus, who was named Benedict IX, and who dared to desecrate, for eleven years, the chair of Peter. This

disgrace of the Roman, and consequently of the entire catholic Church, could have gone unpunished only in an age of the deepest corruption, in which, according to the assertion of the abbot Guido of Pomposa, almost all the bishops were guilty of simony. The scandalous life of this miserable man at length caused a tumult amongst the people: he was driven from the city, but was brought back by the emperor Conrad II, in 1038. After a few years, he was compelled to withdraw a second time, and his enemies, by distributing bribes amongst the people, gained their support for an antipope, John, bishop of Sabina, who entitled himself Silvester III. Aided by his powerful relatives, Benedict returned in 1044, after an absence of a few months, and thought seriously of marrying his own cousin, whose father required as a condition, that he should resign the pope-dom; and hoping to live undisturbed as a private man, he listened to the counsel of the arch-priest John, a moral, pious, and prudent man; he received a large sum of money, resigned, and retired to a castle belonging to his family. John, who had long earnestly desired to see the Roman Church freed from the tyranny of the patricians, and the liberty of election restored, knew of no other means of preventing the election of a client of the nobility by the populace, who were accustomed to bribery, than to be more liberal than the nobles in his gifts, and to secure the votes of the people in his own favour. He took the name of Gregory VI, and was, without doubt, the legitimate pontiff, although Benedict soon repented of his resignation, and under the protection of his relations came forth from his retirement again as pope. Thus there were now three pretendants to the papal authority; but only Gregory, of whom his better contemporaries speak with respect and praise, was in actual possession of the supreme authority. The Roman Church was, at this period, borne down into the depths of misery and degradation; the greater part of its lands, its possessions, and revenues, was in the hands of strangers; there were no apparent means of averting the ruin which threatened the Church

of the apostles, and Gregory saw himself compelled to ask for alms of William duke of Aquitaine, and other princes. The environs of Rome, and Rome itself, were filled with robbers; scarcely were the oblations laid upon the altars, before they were frequently sacrilegiously carried away. Gregory, who wielded in vain his spiritual arms, placed himself at the head of a body of men to restore in some degree the public security.

In the mean time, the German king, Henry III, marched into Italy with the resolution of putting an end to the schism. In 1046, he convened a synod at Pavia, and, as the bishops would not judge the pope unheard, he caused another to be holden at Sutri. To this latter city he was accompanied by Gregory, who had been invited to meet him at Piacenza. Silvester III was deposed and condemned to enclosure in a cloister; of Benedict, who had resigned, no further notice was taken. Gregory related the manner of his own election, and confessed that he had been guilty of simony, but with the best intentions. The bishops were unwilling to pronounce sentence upon him, the legitimate pope; but he himself pronounced his own condemnation, and declared that on account of the bribery which had accompanied his election, he then resigned the pontificate. A new pope was now to be chosen at Rome, but the Romans had sworn to Gregory that they would elect no other during his life, and there was certainly among the Roman clergy none more worthy than he. It was therefore left to the king, to whom and to whose successors had been granted the dignity of the patriciate, to name the new pontiff. His choice fell upon Suidger bishop of Bamberg, who named himself Clement II, and gave to Henry the imperial crown. In a synod which was held by Clement, in presence of the emperor, who was still in Rome, in 1047, excommunication was pronounced upon all who should purchase either a benefice or ordination, and all who should knowingly receive orders from a simoniacal bishop, were condemned to an ecclesiastical penance of forty days. Henry, after he had passed some ordinances for the protection of the

Roman see against the tyranny of the nobles, returned into Germany, and took with him Gregory, who was accompanied by his scholar Hildebrand, afterwards the famed Gregory VII. Clement II died a few months after his return from a journey into Germany, and Benedict IX with the aid of his adherents contrived to possess himself for the third time, of the papal chair, which he held for eight months. Ambassadors from Rome visited the imperial court, and requested to have as pope, Alinard, archbishop of Lyons. Alinard declined the dignity, and they therefore elected Poppo bishop of Brixen, who was named Damasus II, and who died twenty-three days after his exaltation, at Palestrina. On the day of his enthronization, Benedict, seized with remorse and with a desire to do penance, retired to the abbey of Grotta Ferrata, near Frascati, where he died in 1065. When a new embassy appeared in Germany to solicit the nomination of a pope, the German bishops, terrified at the rapid deaths of the last two pontiffs, were every one unwilling to accept the dangerous honour. At length the holy, indefatigable, and universally beloved Bruno, bishop of Toul, was induced to comply, but with the condition that his election should be unanimously confirmed by the clergy and people of Rome. In the garb of a pilgrim he arrived in Rome, and in an assembly of the clergy he declared that he was prepared to return to Toul, should they not concur in his election. All testified their joyful approbation, and he was elected, with the name of Leo IX, on the 12th of February 1049. With him returned to Rome, Hildebrand, whose greater and more powerful mind gradually acquired an influence in the counsels of this and the following popes, which extended to the subsequent events of the Church.

Leo laboured with untiring energy to root out the great evil of simony, which had spread such wide corruption in the Church. In a great synod held in Rome, he declared as invalid all orders that had been conferred by bishops guilty of simony, when not only the Roman clergy, but many bishops also remonstrated against this

severe measure, which would oblige them to close their churches and to suspend the sacred offices. He was therefore, content to renew the decree of Clement II, and he himself afterwards promoted to bishoprics several who, without their fault, had been ordained by simoniacal bishops. Continually journeying during his pontificate from one place to another, to effect with greater certainty ecclesiastical reform, he held synods at Pavia and at Rheims, although at the instigation of the king, the French bishops who knew themselves guilty, endeavoured to prevent the latter assembly. At Rheims the pontiff recounted the abuses of the French Church, and exhorted those bishops and abbots who were conscious of their offences publicly to confess their guilt. Some obeyed and resigned; the bishops of Langres and Nantes were deprived; those, who although convinced of their guilt, did not appear, or who, not to be present at the synod, had accompanied the king in his wars, were excommunicated. In Germany, where Leo held a synod at Mentz, he was powerfully supported by the emperor, who like the pope, would place only worthy ecclesiastics in the higher dignities of the Church. A synod which assembled at Mantua, in 1053, was disturbed by a tumult of ecclesiastics who dreaded the severity of the holy pontiff. In the meantime, the Normans, who since the year 1017 had been rapidly conquering in Lower Italy the territories of the Saracens and Greeks, treated with harshness and cruelty those whom they had subdued; they destroyed cities, churches, and cloisters, and seized upon the possessions of the Roman Church in Calabria and Apulia. Leo, to whom the emperor had granted, in place of the bishopric of Bamberg, the territory of Beneventum, and who had frequently gone into Apulia to plead for the oppressed subjects and the ravished property of his church, proceeded against the barbarians, to whom plunder and murder had now become natural, and with whom entreaties and prayers were fruitless, at the head of a small army. But an unexpected attack of the Normans dispersed his troops and compelled him to seek for refuge in Civitate. Upon

receiving from them an assurance of their sorrow for the outrages committed by them, and of their willingness to comply with all his desires, Leo entered their camp, where he was received with every mark of respect, and by treaty confirmed to them possession of all that they had conquered, and all that they might in future win from the Saracens.*

After the death of St. Leo in 1054, the Roman clergy, as no one of their own body was found every way competent to the highest dignity of the Church, sent Hildebrand and other delegates to the emperor, to obtain another German pontiff. It was with great unwillingness that Henry consented to part with Gebhard bishop of Eichstadt, whom the Roman delegates had named. Gebhard was elected at Rome, in April 1055, and enthroned with the title of Victor II. He and the emperor assisted soon after at a synod at Florence, where he confirmed the decrees of his predecessor. Hildebrand, whom the pope sent into France as his legate to complete the reform of the French Church, which had been begun by St. Leo, deposed at Lyons six bishops who had been guilty of simony. The same legatine powers were exercised in the south of France, by the archbishops of Aix and of Arles. Invited by Henry, the pontiff visited Germany in 1056, where he was present at the death of this great emperor, his friend; and where he assisted by his counsel the empress Agnes, the protectrix of the young king Henry IV, who was then only in his fourteenth year. Victor died at Florence on his return to Rome, in 1057. The cardinal Frederic, abbot of Monte Cassino, brother of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, was, notwithstanding his own opposition, unanimously chosen to succeed. As the imperial dignity was then vacant, foreign confirmation was not required. He gave himself the name of Stephen X. He proceeded to take measures against the hostile Normans, but died

* For an interesting life of this holy pope, and of his German predecessors and successors, see "*Die Deutschen Päpste*" (The German Popes), by Constantine Hofer, Regensburg, 1839.

at Florence, in March 1058. A short time previous to his death the Romans had sworn to him that they would not enter upon a new election, until Hildebrand, who was then archdeacon of the Roman Church, had returned from Germany. Of this interval the Tusculan party took advantage, to place upon the papal throne the cardinal John bishop of Velletri, who took the title of Benedict X. Peter Damian and the majority of the cardinals protested against this irregularity, but were compelled to leave the city. Resolved rather to receive again a pontiff from the German court than to submit themselves to one, who should be forced upon them by the faction of the nobles, the party of the cardinals sent delegates to Germany, with the declaration that they would preserve to Henry the fidelity which they had sworn to his father, and that they were willing to receive as pontiff the man whom he should designate. Hildebrand, who was then at Florence, directed the election in favour of Gerard, the bishop of that city, a Burgundian. When Gerard, accompanied by duke Godfrey and other Italian nobles, drew near to Rome, Benedict laid aside the papal insignia, and retired to his church of Velletri. Nicholas II (so the new pope was named) was immediately enthroned. The perjured John of Velletri was deprived by the pope of his sacerdotal powers. Recent experience had shown the necessity of establishing some firm law to regulate the election of the Roman pontiffs. It was therefore resolved, in a synod of one hundred and thirteen bishops, who met in Rome in 1059, that when a vacancy of the holy see should occur, the seven cardinal bishops should first assemble to deliberate on the choice to be made; that they should then admit the other cardinals, and finally consult the wish of the clergy and people; the choice was always to fall upon a member of the Roman clergy, and only when a person of capacity amongst them could not be found, should a stranger be elected. This was decreed, however, with reservation of the respect and honour due to Henry, the future emperor, and to all his successors, who should receive their rights per-

sonally from the apostolic see. This was a strong measure, and well directed to secure the freedom of the Church. By it the declaration was made, that a king could exercise only as emperor (and the pope was the source of the imperial dignity), or only by a special concession granted to him personally, the right of confirming the election of the Roman pontiff.

What Leo IX had commenced, with regard to the Normans, was completed by Nicholas. To their victorious leader, count Robert Guiscard, he gave the title of duke of Calabria and Apulia, and confirmed to him, for the payment of a yearly tribute, the possession of the island of Sicily. Robert swore to him the fidelity of a vassal, and plighted his faith to protect the Roman see, its possessions, and the freedom of the elections of its pontiffs. And in fact a powerful body of Normans returned with the pope to Rome, destroyed the fastnesses of the counts of Tusculum, of Præneste and Galera, so that at length the Roman Church hoped for deliverance from these ruthless tyrants.

After the death of Nicholas II, in 1061, the cardinals cast their eyes upon the universally-revered Anselm of Badaggio, bishop of Lucca. But a powerful opposition, consisting of the counts of Tusculum and Galera, of ecclesiastics and nobles who were averse to every reformation of abuses, of the fierce highway robber Cenci, and the ambitious cardinal Hugo, sent the emblems of the patrician dignity to Henry, with the request that he would name a pope. The cardinals, and those who desired the freedom and the amelioration of the state of the Church, sent also their delegate, the cardinal Stephen, to the empress. The empress called an assembly of the nobles of both nations to meet at Basil. Here came, conducted by the chancellor Wibert, the bishops of Lombardy, at that period the home of simony and incontinency. The pope, it was said, must be taken from the paradise of Italy (Lombardy), he must be a man who could evince patience and compassion for their weaknesses. The empress yielded to their persuasions; and as the cardinal Stephen had

expected in vain five days for an audience, he returned into Italy. But as Hildebrand and those who thought with him would not be compelled by a youth of fifteen years, and by a woman, to receive as pope one of the unworthy bishops of Lombardy, and had elected Anselm, who took the name of Alexander II, the party of Basil presented to Henry the patrician insignia, revoked the decree of Nicholas II concerning the election of the pope, and cancelled the election of Alexander. Then, and chiefly at the instigation of the bishops of Vercelli and Piacenza, Cadolous bishop of Parma, who had formerly been chancellor of Henry III, a rich but vicious man, was chosen, and gave himself the title of Honorius II. In this manner were opposed to each other the two parties which at this period divided the Church, of which one endeavoured to effect the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, which had almost universally fallen away, of the freedom and independence of the Church from the temporal power, whilst the other sought to maintain the abuses which it had so long cherished: each pope was the representative of his respective party. It was not long before the sword was drawn. Benzo bishop of Alba preceded Cadolous, and everywhere sought, particularly in Rome, by persuasion, by promises, and by bribes, to gain adherents to his cause. In his march towards Rome, Cadolous defeated the army of Alexander, but he dared not to remain in the city. Fear of the powerful duke Godfrey obliged him, in 1062, to return to his see of Parma. In Germany the lawful pope or his opponent was acknowledged according to the opinions of those who ruled during the minority of the sovereign. Anno archbishop of Cologne, in a synod at Wurzburg, condemned the election of Cadolous, and the chancellor Wibert, who was the soul of his party, as Hildebrand was of the opposite, was deposed. But Adalbert archbishop of Bremen, who for a long time retained the favour of the young king, declared for Cadolous. Whilst the contest was continued, but with some interruptions, in Rome, and Cadolous was beleaguered in the castle of St. An-

gelo, which Cenci had ceded to him, Alexander convened a numerous council even in Rome for the correction of ecclesiastical abuses: he was recognised as pontiff by the entire Christian world, with the exception of Lombardy and a part of Germany, and sent Peter Damian as his legate, with extensive powers, into France. The empress Agnes now repented of the part which she had taken in the schism, and received a penance that was imposed upon her by Alexander. In the meantime, the government in Germany had passed again, in 1066, over to Anno and to the princes who were associated with him, and it was then resolved to hold a synod at Mantua, for the recognition of one or other of the popes. Anno himself, accompanied by a numerous retinue, went into Italy, first to Rome and afterwards, with Alexander, to Mantua. Here Alexander justified the acts of his election, and as Anno, the duke Godfrey, and Beatrix, declared in his favour, he was solemnly acknowledged. From this time the party of Cadolous, who during the synod had paraded, with his soldiers, the streets of Mantua, rapidly declined; and from the year 1069 Alexander could so far exert his authority, as to restrain the young king from his intended divorce. The German bishops, with the exception of Siegfried archbishop of Mentz, comported themselves with greater propriety than had the bishops of Lorraine in a similar conjuncture. But it was the cardinal Peter Damian who, as papal legate at the synod of Mentz, declared in the strongest terms that the Roman see would never sanction the separation of Henry from his wife Bertha, and if he persisted therein, would never crown him emperor. He finally induced Henry to abandon his design, and to be reconciled with his queen. The last important step taken by Alexander, the full consequences of which devolved upon his more daring successor, was his excommunication of those counsellors of Henry who had sold ecclesiastical dignities and benefices. He died in 1073.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH AND OF ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS.

SECTION I.—THE CHURCH IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE CIVIL POWER.*

1. *Relations between the Popes and the Emperors.*—When the pontiff Leo placed the imperial crown upon the brow of Charlemagne, it was his desire to give to Christendom a head, and to the Church a protector. He did not so much found a new empire as restore the ancient Roman sway, the remembrance of which had not yet been obliterated, even in the West. The necessity of opposing a Christian empire to the Muhammedan caliphate of the East was felt by all: the Byzantine emperors had, for a long series of years, shown themselves the oppressors of the Church: their lineage was, moreover, now extinct, and their throne was occupied by a female. The empire, the supreme authority of which was transferred to Charlemagne, was one which united the eastern and western parts of the Roman empire. In later times, as long at least as ecclesiastical unity was preserved, the Byzantine and the Western empires were not considered as distinct imperial powers, but as the one Roman empire, which was governed, as it had often been in earlier ages, by two emperors. But whilst the Byzantine empire preserved its ancient pagan character, an entirely Christian idea formed the foundation of the new empire of the West: the supreme head of the Church imparted the dignity, and the defence of the Church was its principal design; for as

* *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, edidit Baluzius. Paris, 1677.
2 tom. folio.

Christendom possessed a spiritual superior in the bishop of Rome, it wished for a temporal head in the person of the emperor.

Hence the emperor swore to the pope an oath of homage, an oath of personal reverence and respect; and it was only by the coronation, consequently by the consent of the pontiff, that the emperor acquired his high dignity. Charlemagne indeed, in 813, declared his son Lewis co-emperor with himself, but he did this only in virtue of the approbation which Leo III had, in 806, given to the proposed division of the empire. At the assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, Lothaire was named regent by his father Lewis, but he did not assume the name of emperor before the year 823, when he was crowned at Rome by the pope. When the Greek emperor Basilius resented the assumption of the title of Roman emperor by Lewis II, this prince appealed to the anointing and coronation of himself and his predecessors by the bishop of Rome. In subsequent years, after the extinction of the Carlovingian race, and when Italy was made the desolated scene of the anarchical wars of its nobles, the popes could not deny the title of emperor to any, the most powerful, general who might advance upon Rome at the head of an army. Hence arose those shadow-emperors, Guido, Lambert, Lewis III, and Berengarius. After the death of the last-named, the diadem was without a wearer until the year 962, when John XII called Otho I to assume it, and crowned him, after he had sworn to the papal ambassadors at Pavia that he would undertake nothing in Rome without the counsel of the pontiff. By this act, the imperial dignity was transferred to the princes of Germany, amongst whom it has since remained. As the Roman pontiffs of the tenth and of the first half of the eleventh century were rendered politically powerless by the factions of the nobles, they were able to maintain their dominion over the States of the Church only with difficulty and with many interruptions. The German emperors also exercised so unlimited a power in Rome and the States, that the ancient and legitimate

authority of the popes was often compelled to yield. Particularly worthy of remark on this subject is the fact, that Arnold, brother of the emperor Henry the Holy, was, in 1017, invested with the regalia as archbishop of Ravenna by the imperial plenipotentiaries.

The election of the popes in the interval between the decadence of the Byzantine power in Rome and the restoration of the Western empire was left entirely free. A synodical decree found in Gratian, by which Adrian I is said to have ceded to king Charles of France, in 774, the right of naming the pontiff, and of investing with the emblems of their rank all the bishops of his kingdom, is not genuine. Leo III, indeed, in 796, sent to the French king the decree of his election. If the decretal of Stephen V, or rather, according to Pagi's criticism, of Stephen VI (VII), is to be credited, it was first determined by a treaty between Eugene II* and Lothaire, that the consecration of the freely-elected pontiff should take place in the presence of the emperor or of his ambassadors. But many popes, such as Valentine, Sergius II, Leo IV, Adrian II, and John VIII, were consecrated without awaiting the arrival of the ambassadors of the emperor: this, however, occurred, as in the case of Leo IV, generally in circumstances of confusion and peril. In 884, when the imperial power had deeply sunk, Adrian III decreed that, for the future, the pontiffs should be crowned immediately after election, without any reference to the emperors or their envoys. But in the wild conflicts of the Roman factions, each of which sought in turn to become master of the papal see, John IX was compelled, in 898, to restore the former usage. His ordinance, however, was made ineffectual by the troubles of the times, and the weakness of the emperors: the papal see, stript of all defence, became the prey of the prevailing factions and of their leaders, male and female. By the oath which the Romans swore to Otho I, they deprived themselves of the right of free election, which indeed they could not

* See page 121.

exercise, in the lawless condition of their affairs. From this cause it arose that, under the son and grandson of Otho, the popes were nominated immediately by the emperor; and under Henry III, the schism occasioned by Benedict IX produced a similar consequence. But this was an unnatural dependance, and could exist only as long as the Roman see was subjected to the oppression of the Roman nobles. Thus Leo IX, after he had been nominated by the emperor, caused himself to be formally elected at Rome. Nicholas II, with the counsel of his Roman synod, restored the freedom of election, and endeavoured to render it secure and independent of foreign influence, by placing it in the hands of an elective college. The members of this college were named **CARDINALS**, a title which had been originally borne by bishops, priests, and deacons, as they possessed their dignities in perpetuity, and were not to be considered as only temporary officials. The bishops amongst the Roman cardinals were the seven bishops of the neighbouring sees of Ostia, Rufina, Porto, Albano, Tusculum, Sabina, and Palestrina, who were the suffragans of the pope, as metropolitan. As they took part in all the counsels on affairs of importance in the Roman Church, and as by a decree of pope Stephen IV they officiated alternately in the Lateran basilica, they were by degrees incorporated with the Roman clergy. The cardinal-priests were the superiors of the twenty-eight parish churches in Rome: to these were added eighteen cardinal-deacons, fourteen *regionarii*, and four *palatini*. These latter officiated in the Lateran church.

2. *Appointment to Bishoprics*.—Charlemagne and his son Lewis restored the freedom of episcopal election, when the former, in 803, and the latter in 816, decreed that the clergy and people of the vacant see should elect the person to fill it. They reserved, however, to themselves the long-practised approval of the election. About the middle of the ninth century, the form of election was regulated in the following order. The clergy and people of the diocese made known to the metropolitan the death of their departed bishop; the

metropolitan, with the consent of the king, appointed a bishop to preside over the choice of a successor: the canons of the cathedral, and of the other churches, the parish priests, the monks, and the principal of the laity, gave their votes in the choice. The election, after it had received the approbation of the king, was made public: the prelate elect was conducted to the metropolitan, who examined him, and caused him to read and sign a profession of faith. If the clergy and people had chosen one who was unworthy of the episcopal dignity, the election then devolved on the metropolitan and other bishops, or upon the king. The popes sometimes interfered, in cases of improper elections, as when Nicholas I declared against the nomination of Hilduin to the bishopric of Cambrai, and of Hugo to the see of Cologne. At the consecration of the new bishop, all the prelates of the province were accustomed to assist, either in person or by their representatives.

Sometimes, indeed, in the election, this prescribed form was not fully observed. Lewis the Pious occasionally cramped the freedom of election by recommending certain persons to the electors: Charles the Bald, and other kings of the Carlovingian race, sometimes absolutely named the bishops, or sent ecclesiastics from their court to the metropolitan to receive ordination. The synod of Valence therefore, in 855, resolved to implore the monarch to restore the entire freedom of election, and decreed that such persons as had been nominated by the court should be examined by the metropolitan, and, if found unworthy, rejected. Some Churches endeavoured to protect themselves more effectually from the encroachment of the kings, by obtaining privileges which ensured to them an unrestricted freedom in the election of their bishops. About the year 915, the interference of the kings with elections had proceeded so far, that pope John X declared the right of the French king Charles to nominate the bishops of his kingdom to be an ancient and well-founded right. We may perhaps restrict this in some degree to the right of approbation. But the usurpation

of the dukes and counts, which followed the decline of the regal power, was attended with still more pernicious results. These men conferred the bishoprics under their influence generally upon their relatives, or upon men who were otherwise personally attached to them, and upon those in particular who were less inclined to oppose their violent alienation of Church property. Thus Herbert, the powerful count of Vermandois, for many years held the Church of Rheims under his tyranny : he forced upon it, in 925, his son, a youth of fifteen years, as archbishop, and contrived to obtain the papal approbation.* In Italy also, during the tenth century, as Atto bishop of Vercelli laments, youths were not unfrequently appointed to bishoprics, and in truth, it was a benefit to the defenceless Church, that in the times of desolation and confusion, the German kings and emperors often nominated the bishops in Germany, and after the time of Otho I, also in Italy. In Germany, the kings drew from the many rich foundations, formed by themselves or by their ancestors, a right to name to many bishoprics. When an election occurred, the delegates of the clergy and temporal vassals presented to the king the ring and crosier of the deceased prelate, and prayed him to confirm their choice : if, however, as it was frequently the case, there were no election, the king was requested to nominate and to send to the vacant see a prelate of his own choice. The Saxon and French kings promoted many most worthy bishops to the German sees ; but that political views were often considered is shown by the fact, that, under Otho I, a son, a brother, and an uncle of this emperor were in possession of the three Rhenish archbishoprics.

* See chapter V. sect. 1.

SECTION II.

CONTINUATION.—THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, IN ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CHURCH.—INVESTITURES.—POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE BISHOPS AND ABBOTS.

THE prevailing passion of the Carlovingian age to extend to all landed possessions the system of feudal tenure must necessarily have affected the Church. If not all, many of the possessions of episcopal churches were held by this tenure; and from this arose that often-practised and always-reprobated custom of the kings, by which they conferred these possessions as feuds upon laics. The newly elected or nominated bishops, therefore, gave to the king, not only the oath of personal fidelity, but from the ninth century they added also the oath of feudal fidelity to him, their liege lord, to whom they became thus subjected by the feudal temporalities of their sees. This oath (*homagium*) was taken by the vassal with his hands placed within the hands of his lord. By this oath the vassal swore to serve the king in war, to appear at his call at court, to assist at his tribunals, and to subject himself to his jurisdiction. But it is difficult to determine at what time this feudal oath was first exacted from the bishops: the more ancient of the Carlovingian kings appear not to have required it. The bishops who were assembled at Quiercy in 858 understood the demand of the German king Lewis, that they should swear to him the oath of fidelity, as a requisition of the feudal oath; for in their answer they declare, that they could not, like laics, subject themselves as vassals to any man, and that it was not permitted to them after their ordination to present their consecrated hands to take this worldly oath. From the demand, as well as from the answer, it appears that the bishops took this oath before their consecration. The written oath of fidelity which Hincmar of Laon, in 870, presented to Charles the Bald, was an evi-

dent homage, for in it he promised to be faithful to him "as a man to his seigneur" (*sicut homo suo seniori.*) In addition to this, the bitter complaints of Hincmar and of other bishops regarding this oath, which the kings called upon them frequently to repeat, prove to us that they well comprehended the tendency of this oath, and the state of vassalage to which it reduced them. The supposition,* therefore, that the homage which the German king, Conrad II, required from Heribert archbishop of Milan, in 1026, is the first example of such an exaction from a bishop, cannot be defended.

The taking of the oath was followed by the investiture of the temporalties of the see, which the feudal lord granted, by giving to the new bishop the crosier and ring, as emblems of his episcopal rank and power. The use of these symbols at the nomination or confirmation of the election of a bishop had been practised in earlier times. In 623, Clovis II delivered to Romanus bishop of Rouen, the pastoral staff at the time of his enthronization. But during the course of the tenth century, when the feudal system had fully developed itself, and had drawn within itself the Church, the ring and the crosier were employed as the peculiar symbols of the investiture of bishops, as were the sword and the lance in the creation of civil or military officers, and as these symbols were expressive only of the spiritual relations of the bishop, his espousals with his Church, and his jurisdiction, so in an age, when a deep signification was attached to everything symbolical in the different transactions of life, it might frequently have been imagined by the feudal lord and by the people, that he, the feudal lord, conferred upon the bishop his episcopal rank and power, by the delivery of the emblems, in the same manner that he really conferred power and rank, when he delivered to laics the emblems of their jurisdiction or of the honours to which they had been raised. Thus it was that three things, closely connected, the vassalage of the bishops with all its con-

* Of Katercamp, in his Eccl. Hist. IV. 531.

sequences which flowed from the duties of feudality, the investiture with the ring and crosier, and the almost universal annihilation of the freedom of election, in the eleventh century, formed a yoke as dangerous as it was oppressive to the Church. To the degradation and defenceless condition of the Church, to the personal unworthiness of some popes and impotence of others, and to the exercise, in general the beneficent exercise, of that power which the last emperors Henry II and III had obtained, are we to ascribe the causes why the Church did not sooner exert itself to obtain its liberation from this state of servitude. As soon as a spirit of regeneration was awakened in the Church, the attempt was made to break the first links of this chain. In the first year of his pontificate, the holy pontiff Leo IX decreed in the synod of Rheims, in 1049, that henceforth no one should receive episcopal consecration who had not been elected by the clergy and people. This was the first signal for that great contest for the freedom and re-exaltation of the enslaved and degraded Church, which so soon afterwards ensued.

The numerous and extensive grants and privileges which many churches received from the monarchs of the Carlovingian family, were attended by this twofold consequence,—the bishops and abbots gained on one side in wealth, in power, and in influence; whilst on the other they lost in independence, for the king was enabled, by the feudal system, to attach closely to himself that body of men, who formerly by their ecclesiastical stations, and now by their possessions, formed the first class in the nation. The royal rights which the kings granted to the Church, were sometimes held as fiefs, but were generally perpetual properties. To these belonged the right of levying customs, without, however, the power of increasing their number, or of erecting new stations for receiving them, the right of holding fairs, and of coining money. More important was the right of criminal judgment, which, according to an ordinance of Charlemagne in 803, was granted to bishops over their poorer dependants, their

serfs, and slaves. This power was extended, when many, either through piety, or to avoid the oppression of the counts, or because they found it more advantageous, became dependents of the bishops, by surrendering their property to the Church, a practice which the French kings strongly opposed, more particularly when it was adopted to escape military conscription.

But the kings of the Saxon dynasty did even more for the Church in Germany and Italy. Not only did they enrich bishoprics and abbeys by vast donations, but that they might possess in spiritual princes, upon whose devotedness they could rely, a defence and counterpoise to the power of the temporal nobles, and that they might depress the latter by exalting the former, they sought to place the influence of the prelates on an equality with that of the dukes and counts. They at first granted them the royal bann, and the rights of counts in their own cities and possessions, and finally, entire countships. The possessions of many episcopal churches were by degrees rendered free of all civil power, even that of the dukes. These immunity lands in which the domains were the immediate property of the Church, were more profitable than the countships in which the lands of free men paid no tribute. In France, the bishops never attained to such a height of authority. During the tenth century, indeed, they obtained many regal rights: they were presented by the kings with power over their episcopal sees; and in 940, the archbishop of Rheims obtained from king Lewis the countship of the adjacent country, with the right of coining money. But whilst in Germany the bishops found zealous protectors in the powerful Othos and Henries, the French bishops, in the weak reigns of their kings during the tenth and eleventh centuries became a prey to the capricious tyranny of the great vassals, by whom they were deprived of their best possessions.

By a law of Charlemagne every bishop and abbot was obliged to maintain an *advocate*, whose duty it was to administer the civil jurisdiction of the Church, to

defend the subjects of the Church in suits with their neighbours, to watch over the administrators of the particular parts of the ecclesiastical goods, and who, for this and for the general protection which they afforded to the Church, received certain revenues, services, and fiefs. The founders of churches generally reserved to themselves and to their successors the office of advocate. The greater bishoprics had in their different provinces various advocates under one who was their chief. But the churches and their dependents had to endure many oppressions from these officers. They frequently acted as if the goods of the churches were their own fiefs, or considered the fiefs as their own birth-rights; at their tribunals they laid many grievous impositions on the subjects of the churches. Many churches, had they been able, would willingly have dispensed with the services of their advocates, whose aggressions seem to have reached their height in the latter part of the eleventh century.

The principal grievance which oppressed the possessions of the Church was the military conscription. To meet the demands of the kings, and to collect soldiers for their wars, the bishops were compelled to alienate many of their lands in fiefs. These soldiers it was their duty to present to the king in person, and to command in war. Carlomann, in 742, freed ecclesiastics from personal service, but this exemption was of short duration. At the request of the temporal barons, and of the people, this privilege was renewed by Charlemagne; but under Lewis the Pious, and still more under his sons, the bishops, partly perhaps from inclination, but more from their relations to the king and nobility, were often to be seen at the head of their vassals and people in war. During the invasion of the Normans, often were the bishops, even without a command, compelled to enter the field for the protection of their dioceses. Hence Franco, bishop of Liege, about the year 700, sent two priests to Rome, to be consecrated bishops by the pope, that they might perform his episcopal functions, as he was almost continually engaged with the

Normans, and dared not, as a warrior, again perform his sacred duties. The bishops and abbots were required, during the Carlovingian rule, to make yearly presents to the king, to receive him and his attendants on his progresses, to entertain them during their stay, and to supply many things which were refused by the counts, the dukes, and officers of the state. Many churches, however, were freed during the ninth century, by the kings, from these burdens, and from other exactions made by the regal officers when they held tribunals on the estates of the churches. The kings removed the ecclesiastical advocates and the tribunals from the episcopal domains. There sometimes arose circumstances in which extraordinary taxes were imposed on the Church lands. The entire sum with which Charles the Bald purchased the forbearance of the Normans was raised in this manner. By a law of Charlemagne and of his son, every church possessed a *mansus*, that is, a portion of land for the maintenance of the priest and his assistants, free from all burdens and taxation; but this was an immunity granted to parish and country churches.

Under the Merovingians, the bishops acquired, without any labour of their own, merely by their ecclesiastical station and by the influence consequent to their great possessions, a civil rank in the state; that is, they obtained a voice in the assemblies in which the affairs of the kingdom were discussed. In the reign of Charlemagne, the abbots also were called into these counsels, and sat on the ecclesiastical bench, near the bishops. As spiritual subjects were debated only by the bishops and abbots, it often happened that two distinct courts were held, the one for ecclesiastical, the other for civil affairs. Thus the parliaments, by the discussion of spiritual subjects, were like to synods, and synods at which the king and nobility attended assumed the character of parliaments. So far were the Carlovingians, and above all, their great founder Charles, from any intrusive, capricious attacks upon the power of the Church,—so great was the harmony between the spiritual

and civil powers,—that the Church was benefitted rather than injured by the union. In all their transactions in spiritual affairs, the kings acted with the advice of the most learned and virtuous of the bishops, “as the guardians and humble coadjutors of the Church,” as Charlemagne named himself. They received synodal laws of ecclesiastical discipline into their capitularies, or gave the force of capitularies to these decrees, and promulgated them in their own name. They sometimes occupied the first seats in synods; they called the bishops together, and confirmed their decisions, which thus, when they were connected with civil life, acquired the force of civil laws. But Charlemagne guarded himself carefully from all interference with the existing form of Church government. Thus, at the diet of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 802, he framed a decree respecting the punishment of accused clerics; but when he was told that the pontiff Gregory II had spoken on this subject, he declared, at the following assembly at Worms, “that the affair was placed beyond the boundaries of his power, and that he now left it to the bishops.”

But under the latter Carlovingians, the bishops were necessitated to define the line which divided the two powers. This was done by the prelates at the synod of Fimes, in 881, in the reign of Lewis the Stutterer. They declared, the sacerdotal and the regal powers are from each other entirely distinct: neither should assume the rights of the other; the episcopal dignity is above the regal, for bishops anoint kings, and are responsible for their conduct immediately to God. These bishops, however, did not imagine a total separation of the priestly and regal powers, which would then have been impossible; and at that time the influence and voice of the bishops was great and decisive on the most important subjects of state. After the great battle of Fontenay, there was an assembly of bishops and abbots, who refused the kingdom to Lothaire on account of his crimes, and enjoined his brothers, the kings Charles and Lewis, to take possession of it. Charles the Bald, in his accusations against Wenilo archbishop of Sens,

in the synod of Savonnières, in 859, declared that he would acknowledge as his judges the bishops, by whose hands he had been anointed king. The election or elevation of a new king was generally performed by the prelates. Thus, at a synod of Manteille, near Vienne, in 879, the archbishops of Lyons, Vienne, Tarantaise, Aix, Arles, and Besançon, with eleven bishops and a few temporal nobles, elected duke Baso king of Provence or Burgundy, at which time he promised, in return, to restore or to confirm the rights of the Church, to administer impartial justice to all, to protect ecclesiastics and laics, and to abolish, according to the advice of the bishops, some existing abuses. At a synod of Pavia, in 890, the Italian bishops elected Guido, duke of Spoleto, king of Italy, under like conditions, that he would defend the Church, would suffer all his subjects to live according to their laws, and would abstain from arbitrary taxations.

The duties of kings to the Church were enumerated to them at the time of their solemn anointing and coronation. This religious consecration of the new sovereign was introduced first into the eastern Roman empire. The first known example is that of Theodosius the Younger, who was crowned by the patriarch Proclus: in the following year, the emperor Justinus caused himself to be crowned by the pope John I, although he had before received the crown from the hands of the patriarch John. Of the new German Christian kingdoms, the Spanish was the first that adopted this ceremony. In the first canon of the twelfth synod of Toledo, it is said of king Erwig, that he received his regal power by the sacred unction. By the Merovingian kings of the Franks this rite was not practised. Pepin was the first. He was crowned at Soissons by St. Boniface, and afterwards by the pope Stephen at St. Denis. After his time, all the kings were crowned, and the rite was introduced from France into Germany, where Conrad I was the first who was consecrated in this manner. The sovereign to be crowned read a profession of Catholic faith: he then

swore, at the desire of the bishops, to maintain to all prelates, and to the churches entrusted to them, their canonical privileges ; to protect and to defend, according to his power, every and each bishop and his church, and to preserve inviolate the rights and laws of the people. The protestation to maintain the rights and freedom of the Church was sometimes laid by the king on the altar. The bishops then asked the consent of the people, or presented to them the sovereign who was about to receive the crown : the people expressed their approbation by exclamations or by raising their hands. The anointing was then performed, with an invocation of the Holy Ghost : the symbols of his regal power, the ring, the sword, the crown, the sceptre, and the wand, were then delivered to the king, with appropriate exhortations to execute the duties typified by each. In France the archbishop of Rheims, in Germany one of the Rhenish archbishops, enjoyed the right of crowning their respective kings.

The Carolingian monarchs had always in their court a number of ecclesiastics, whom they maintained for the celebration of the divine worship in their chapel, and as counsellors in civil affairs. The chief of these ecclesiastics was named archchaplain, and Fulrad abbot of St. Denis, under Pepin, is the first whom we meet with this designation. Charlemagne had received a papal dispensation to retain bishops in his palace in this capacity : he had, first, Angilran bishop of Metz, and afterwards, Hildebold of Cologne. These bishops were styled archbishops of the palace, and they attended particularly to ecclesiastical subjects that were brought before the king. From the clergy of their chapel the kings generally selected the new bishops and abbots. This, in spite of the occasional opposition of some metropolitans and provinces, was so customary, that Charles the Bald, when he appointed Wenilo, an ecclesiastic of his court, archbishop of Sens, in 859, appealed to the practice of his predecessors. We are not, therefore, to wonder, if a place in the royal chapel were an object of ambition to the avaricious and ambitious

priest. Under the kings of the Saxon house, also, the chapel of the sovereign was the chief seminary of bishops.

SECTION III.

AMELIORATION OF THE STATE OF SLAVERY.—THE
GOD'S PEACE.—ORDEALS.—CIVIL JURISDICTION
AND IMMUNITIES OF THE CLERGY.

How extensively and how variously the influence of the Church was exercised on the civil relations of society was conspicuously shown in the class of slaves. To them, when fleeing from the cruelty of their masters, did the Church first open her sacred temples, as asylums; and she surrendered them again only when their masters promised on their oath that they would pardon them. The cloisters in particular were places of refuge for slaves, and from slaves belonging to monasteries was the number of monks frequently supplied. If a slave remained in a monastery three years without being claimed by his master, he was declared free. The laws of the land prohibited bishops from ordaining stranger slaves without the permission of their masters; but the Church possessed its slaves, from amongst whom the bishops sometimes selected for ordination those that appeared most fitting, and they constantly chose the sons of slaves, whom they placed in their seminaries in preparation for the ecclesiastical state. In either case, the person to be ordained was emancipated. This disposition of the Church to dedicate even slaves to the service of her altars, did much to remove the degradation which was attached to their caste in the eyes of the people; and in an age when the distinction between the states of freedom and servitude were so marked, and when the wall which separated them appeared impenetrable, it was given to the Church alone, which reconciles all, ennobles all, to unite the sons and brothers of kings with the sons of slaves in one state, in one ministry. The emancipation of slaves

was numbered amongst those works pleasing to God, the practice of which was so often inculcated by the Church. Slaves who were freed, were generally placed under the protection of some particular Church, to which they paid an annual tax.

The Church exerted itself also to remedy the dreadful consequences of the almost universal law of wager of battle, which sprung from a spirit of sanguinary revenge. In France, the bishops endeavoured, in the year 1031, to proclaim a general peace amongst individuals, to observe which, all were to swear, and to renew their vow every five years. But as the impossibility of the attempt became manifest, they were content with the introduction of the *truce of God* (*treuga Dei*) or the *God's peace*, which was to be observed from the Wednesday evening to the Monday morning of every week, and was afterwards extended to the whole of Advent and of Lent, and to every fasting day in the year. All who refused to accept this peace, and to suffer all feuds to repose during these periods, fell under the ban of the Church. This peace was received into France and England: it was introduced into Germany by Henry IV in 1043. The perpetual peace, which had been before projected, was in the meantime established by the French bishops, as far as it regarded Churches, ecclesiastics, ecclesiastical property, and peasants. It was severely prohibited to slay, maim, or plunder a peasant, or to seize any other person, except for the purpose of placing him before a tribunal.

The *God's judgments*, which had descended from pagan times, and to which accused persons who could not prove their innocence, either by witnesses or by oath, subjected themselves in person or by a representative, were at first not approved by the Church. Agobard archbishop of Lyons wrote a work in their condemnation, and the pontiff Stephen V reprobated in a particular manner the ordeals of hot iron and of boiling water. But as they were supported by universal opinion, and could not be abolished or replaced by

other modes of trial, the Church by degrees adopted them. They were placed under the direction of ecclesiastics, they were accompanied by religious dedications and ceremonies, and were performed in the church. The clergy were thus constituted judges of the issue, and were enabled to save many innocent persons.

The influence of the Church on the civil administration of justice extended itself still further. Charlemagne confirmed to the bishops, and not only to them but to all ecclesiastics generally, the right that had before been awarded to them by the Roman emperors, of deciding in civil suits, in which laics had recourse to them as arbitrators. He also conferred upon bishops a supervising and corrective power over temporal judges: those who opposed them were to be punished by excommunication. The counts were commanded to appear when called by the bishops, and if necessary to give them the assistance of the civil power: they were instructed in particular to oblige public sinners, upon whom the popes desired to impose a public penance, to appear before the episcopal tribunal. In disputes of ecclesiastics with each other, and even in their offences against the state, only the bishop could judge. No one could accuse an ecclesiastic before a civil court; no lay judge could apprehend or punish an ecclesiastic without the permission of his bishop. In a civil process, a cleric was obliged to follow a laic into the civil court, if the latter preferred this to an ecclesiastical tribunal, in the same manner as a laic was obliged to accuse a cleric before a spiritual tribunal. A clergyman could not accuse a laic before a civil judge without the consent of his bishop. Hincmar of Rheims wrote in defence of the immunities of the clergy from all civil courts, when the king Charles deprived the bishop of Laon of the temporalties of his bishopric, because, in a dispute with laymen, he had refused to appear before the royal judges. He showed that, according to existing laws, ecclesiastics could not be cited before a lay judge, either in criminal or civil causes: he maintained that in suits between the clergy and laics there should

be a mixed tribunal, composed of the bishop and of judges named by the king. He induced the king, in a synod at Pistes, in 868, to restore the temporalities to the bishop and to leave the cause to arbitration. But Hincmar himself acknowledged that in suits with laics on disputed possessions, ecclesiastics were bound to appear at the civil tribunal in person, or through their advocates.

If the accuser or the accused were a bishop, the cause, according to a capitulary of Charlemagne, could be tried only by a court of bishops. In cases of political offences, and even of high treason, the kings guaranteed this immunity to bishops, as we see in the case when a number of bishops had engaged in the insurrection against Lewis the Pious. When Charles the Bald accused Wenilo archbishop of Sens of treason, at the synod of Savonnières, he selected three other bishops to act as his judges. When we see that Hincmar reprehended his nephew the bishop of Laon for having carried his complaints against the king before a civil tribunal, and not before a synod of bishops, it appears that the kings recognized the competency of the latter tribunal in causes in which bishops had to accuse them: and Charles the Bald repeatedly boasts, in his epistle to pope Adrian II, and in his letter of complaint against the archbishop of Sens, that he had not been accused or convicted, in a legal manner, of any crime before a tribunal of bishops.

SECTION IV.

THE PRIMACY.—PAPAL LEGATES AND VICARS.

1. THE power of the supreme pontiff to promulgate universal laws on subjects of ecclesiastical constitution and discipline was acknowledged in the present, as it had been in former ages. Nicholas I asserted this power, when in the case of the controversy respecting the bishop Rothad, he declared that the authority of a

papal decree did not depend upon its insertion in the codex of canons, but that it possessed in itself the force of law. At the synod of Pontion, in 876, the bishops who were there assembled from all the provinces of France, declared, that whatever the pope decreed, in virtue of his high station, should be received with the greatest veneration by all, and that in all things obedience was to be shown to him.

2. Their *judicial power* over bishops was exercised ordinarily in cases of appeal. It was exerted generally with the most beneficial results, in the defence of persecuted prelates. Thus Gregory IV, in the case of Alderich bishop of Mans, who had been driven from his see, by the party of Lothaire, about the year 842, forbade the French bishops to judge this cause, which he had reserved to himself. Gregory IV and Leo IV, both maintained that the appeal of a bishop to the pope, from the judgment of a provincial synod, even before the synod had given judgment, had a suspensive effect. With particular energy did Nicholas I enforce his supreme judicial powers. Hincmar of Rheims had, as metropolitan, restored a priest whom Rothad bishop of Soissons had in a synod degraded. Rothad opposed this unjust judgment, and was excommunicated by Hincmar, in a synod at Soissons, in 851. Rothad appealed to the pope, but under the groundless pretext, that he had himself renounced his appeal, he was prevented from travelling to Rome : in a second synod at Soissons, he was condemned to deprivation and imprisonment. Hincmar was supported by the king, and another bishop was ordained in the place of Rothad. But the pope cancelled the proceedings of the last synod, and insisted that Rothad should be permitted to journey to Rome. No accuser there appeared against him. Nicholas, therefore, absolved him from censure, and caused him to be restored, by his legate Arsenius, bishop of Horta, again to his see. Down to the present time, the popes had, in virtue of their judicial power over bishops, judged only those greater causes (*causas majores*) of appeals which had been submitted to their

decision. But Nicholas declared that their power extended to all the "great affairs of churches," so that no bishop could be judged or deposed without the knowledge and consent of the apostolic see.

The same pope exercised his right of revision in another case with Hincmar. Ebbo, the predecessor of Hincmar, had after his deposition exercised his metropolitan rights, and had ordained several clerics. These Hincmar suspended, and a synod at Soissons, in 853, confirmed his act, and added to it excommunication. These ecclesiastics, one of whom, named Wulfad, the king wished to raise to the archbishopric of Bourges, appealed in 866 to the pope, who thereupon commissioned the archbishop of Tours to hold another synod at Soissons to judge their cause. This assembly followed the path which Hincmar himself had before opened. Without annulling the decree of the former synod, it restored the ecclesiastics by an indulgence, and in virtue of the papal authority. A few years anterior to this occurrence, Hincmar and the French bishops had expressed the opinion, that the pope possessed judicial authority only over metropolitans and over bishops in case of appeal, according to the decree of the council of Sardica; but in the epistle of the synod of Troyes, in 867, the bishops themselves requested the pope to insist that no bishop should be deposed without the consent of the Roman see. When, soon after, Hincmar bishop of Laon, and nephew of the archbishop, was deposed in a synod at Douay, in 871, the synod gave information of its judgment to pope Adrian II, and besought him to confirm it, or, if he considered another examination necessary, to command it, at a time and in a place to be named by his commissaries or legates. But Adrian, to whom the turbulent Hincmar, who was casting confusion into both Church and state, had appealed, replied that he and one of his accusers should proceed to Rome. By this command, Adrian drew upon himself a severe answer from the king, Charles, who was personally interested in this affair, and to whom the elder Hincmar gave the assist-

ance of his pen. Through respect to the will of the pontiff, the see was kept vacant, until John VIII, in 876, at the wish of the king, confirmed the deposition of Hincmar. Arnulf archbishop of Rheims, a natural son of king Lothaire, had, in 989, opened to the duke Charles, a rival of the king Hugh Capet, the gates of the city of Rheims ; an act of treason of which the monarch complained to the pope, John XV. The pontiff returned no reply ; and a synod, held at Rheims, in 991, induced Arnulf to anticipate his deposition by a voluntary act of abdication. The learned monk Gerbert was chosen as his successor. But Seguin, archbishop of Sens, with many other prelates, represented to the pope that the removal of Arnulf, without his consent, was invalid. John, therefore, suspended the bishops who had formed the synod of Rheims from the exercise of their faculties, and insisted on the restoration of Arnulf. It was in vain that Gerbert endeavoured, on the one side, to gain the pope, and, on the other, to excite the French bishops to opposition. The pontifical legate Leo, in 995, held a synod of German bishops at Mouson, in which Gerbert submitted to the papal suspension ; and a short time after another synod was convened by the same legate at Rheims, where the bishops, who had decreed the deposition of Arnulf and the elevation of Gerbert, gave their consent to the restoration of the injured prelate. But the king Hugo would not liberate Arnulf from confinement. His son Robert, in 997, yielded to the threat of the pontiff ; and Gerbert himself, when he had afterwards ascended the throne of St. Peter, with the name of Silvester II, declared, that he reinstated Arnulf in all the rights and prerogatives of the church of Rheims. In the following century, Leo IX departed from the then prevailing opinion, that the cognition in the case of an accused bishop was reserved, as a *greater cause*, to the see of Rome, and that a provincial synod could institute a process against a bishop, or examine the accusations, but could not determine until the see of Rome had been consulted.

3. In virtue of the ancient patriarchal jurisdiction, it occurs in this period also, that the popes summoned bishops, particularly from France, to assist at their synods in Rome. Thus, in 769, seven French metropolitans and five bishops were present at the synod against the Iconoclasts, having been called to Rome by Stephen III. Nicholas I, in 867, required the presence of the German and French bishops at a synod which was to decide on the divorce of Lothaire, but the kings of the two countries excused the attendance of their bishops, who, moreover, could hardly absent themselves from their dioceses on account of the dangers which threatened them from the Normans. The same reason prevented Nicholas, as he declared in 867, from convening the bishops of the west in a great synod, when Photius published his calumnies against the western Church. Hincmar also declared that every bishop whose presence the pontiff might require at Rome was bound to obey his call.

4. New *episcopal sees* were erected generally by the authority of the Roman pontiff. The popes were accustomed to grant to those, whom they sent to preach the faith (as we have seen in the case of St. Boniface), powers to found bishoprics in the newly-converted countries. But the founding of an episcopal Church was not considered, in the ninth century, a right reserved to the bishop of Rome. Nicholas I offered no opposition when Nomenoe duke of Bretagne divided the four dioceses of his kingdom into seven bishoprics; he exhorted him to comply with the ancient constitution of the province by subjecting the new sees to the metropolitan of Tours. But where, not the division of existing bishoprics, but the erection of new ones in countries which had recently received the faith, and which had not yet been incorporated in the body of the Church, was to take place, the authority of the supreme pontiff was always necessary. This was shown in the formation of the bishoprics in Poland and in Hungary. When the holy king St. Stephen had founded these Churches, he obtained the approbation of the pope, by an embassy sent expressly for

that purpose to Rome. But from the end of the ninth century, no important alteration was effected in the government of Churches without the consent of the supreme head of all. The Spanish bishops in the mountains of Asturias, together with their king Alphonsus III, besought the pope, in 873, to send a legate from Rome, to define the limits of their respective sees; and about the year 905, Plegmund archbishop of Canterbury went to Rome, to obtain from the pope his consent to the erection of five bishoprics in Wessex. The emperor Henry II founded the bishopric of Bamberg, after he had obtained the papal approbation.

5. As the grant of *metropolitan jurisdiction* had always been, in the west, a special right of the see of Rome, so in this period the erection of new metropolitan Churches, or a change in those which previously existed, was reserved to the authority of the same see. Thus pope Zachary raised the Church of Mentz to the dignity of metropolitan, under St. Boniface; and Leo III imparted the same distinction to the Church of Salzburg, under Arno, at the request of the bishops of Freysing, Ratisbon, Passau, Seben, and Neuburg. The synod of Frankfort, in 794, abstained from a decision on the metropolitan Churches of Tarantaise, Ebrodunum, and Aix, because the pope had reserved this judgment to himself. If, as it sometimes happened, a Church lost its metropolitical rights, in the confusion of the times, it afterwards recovered possession of it by the authority of the pope. Thus Tilpin archbishop of Rheims recovered his jurisdiction by a grant of Adrian I, after it had been lost, at least as to the exercise, during the long widowhood of his Church under the usurper Milo. The same pope restored, in 788, the metropolitan dignity of the Church of Vienne.

6. The *pallium* had formerly been given by the popes to their vicars as an emblem of the power committed to them; it was afterwards granted to other bishops as a mark of personal distinction. But in the second Germanic synod, which was holden in 746, by St. Boniface, the bishops present, in unison with the French princes

Carlomann and Pepin, decreed that for the future all archbishops should pray the pope to bestow upon them this robe; they immediately requested it for the bishops of the three restored metropolitan Churches of Rouen, Sens, and Rheims. From this time, the pallium was considered the symbol of archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and the possession of it as necessary for the exercise of that power. The popes granted it when requested by the newly-elected archbishop, which request was generally accompanied by a recommendation of the king or of a synod. When Charlemagne wished to see the Church of Bourges restored to its primitive archiepiscopal rank, he recommended its bishop Ermenbert to pope Adrian, supplicating for him the grant of the pallium. In the capitularies a distinctive honour is commanded to be paid to a metropolitan by whom the pallium has been received. The bishop, therefore, who had been elected or nominated to fill a metropolitan see, obtained with the pallium the papal approbation, and his archiepiscopal jurisdiction, which he received, according to the remark of Rabanus, in part at least as representative of the pope (*propter apostolicas vices*), for after the restoration of the fallen ecclesiastical constitution of France, the duties which had been performed by the bishop of Arles as papal vicar, devolved upon each metropolitan. Other bishops also occasionally received the pallium. But with them it was a personal favour, with the archbishops it was an emblem of rank. As early as the end of the ninth century, the metropolitan performed no duty of his office before he had received the pallium. John VIII, in his letter to Rostaing of Arles, in 878, complained that some metropolitans of the French provinces consecrated their suffragan bishops before they had obtained their palliums from Rome. According to Luitprand, even the patriarchs of Constantinople were not empowered to wear the pallium without the sanction of the pope, until the year 935, when the emperor Romanus, who had raised his son Theophylactus to the patriarchate, obtained from the pope John XI by means of the Roman tyrant Alberich, a grant, that for the

future, the patriarchs might use the pallium, without an express permission of the bishop of Rome.

7. Provincial synods could receive the *resignation of bishops*; but many prelates before they resigned had recourse to the apostolic see. We find examples under Gregory the Great, and more frequently in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Edenulf bishop of Laon sought repeatedly from John VIII, without obtaining, a release from the burden of his bishopric. Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury requested in the same manner, and equally in vain, to be freed by Alexander II. Benedict VII, on the contrary, permitted the resignation of St. Adalbert, bishop of Prague. Translations from one diocese to another, when they did happen, as exceptions to the ancient canon law, required the sanction of the pope. Thus Ebbo archbishop of Rheims was translated by Gregory IV from that church to Hildesheim, and Actard from Nantes to Tours by Adrian II.

In the preceding periods, the Roman pontiffs were accustomed to arrange many ecclesiastical matters by means of their *vicars*, whom they selected from amongst the metropolitans of a country; in the present, on the contrary, they discontinued the office of vicars, and sent *legates* on extraordinary occasions to determine on the affairs of distant churches. The first papal legate with unlimited powers was St. Boniface, who with this title preached in Germany and Gaul, for thirty-six years, founded or restored churches, held synods, reformed abuses, and prescribed laws, under the protection of the French dukes. To convene national synods and to preside therein, were powers with which Nicholas I in particular invested his legates. The decision on difficult or important cases was referred by the legates to Rome. The legations were of more frequent occurrence after the year 1050, a period when the popes laboured with all their zeal and all their powers to eradicate abuses, to destroy simony and the incontinency of the clergy. When Alexander II sent St. Peter Damian, in 1063, as his legate into France, he wrote to the bishops, declaring that he had conferred upon this holy man,

who was "as his own eye, and an immoveable pillar of the apostolic see," the fulness of his own power, so that all that should be decreed by him, should be considered as the decree of the head of the Church. Peter and another legate, who was also sent into France, could not exercise so great a power without encountering opposition. Before this time, Leo IX, in a great synod at Rheims, in 1049, compelled by the necessities of the Church, to omit the ordinary process, had obliged even bishops and abbots, who were not accused, to free themselves from all suspicion of simony by their oaths. Those who acknowledged themselves guilty, he deposed; those who absented themselves from the synod, or refused the oath, he excommunicated.

After the extinction of the vicariate of Arles, the popes continued to confer sometimes the dignity of vicar on different French prelates; but this was personal, not hereditary, in their sees. Sergius II, in 844, appointed Drogo bishop of Metz, the uncle of the emperor Lothaire, and of his brothers, the kings, as his vicar or primate, with authority to convoke national synods, and to preside over them, to examine the decrees of such synods, and to receive appeals in the name of the pope; but as the metropolitans resented this extensive grant of power to an ordinary bishop, Drogo abstained from all exercise of it. Some years after, in 876, John VIII, at the instance of Charles the Bald, conferred a similar jurisdiction upon Ansegis archbishop of Sens, over the German and French Churches, but at the synod of Pontion, the other archbishops, amongst whom, Hincmar, in particular, was dissatisfied with this exaltation of Ansegis, would acknowledge his power only with the preservation of their metropolitan rights. The popes gave this title of primate of Gaul to other bishops also, but only as marks of personal distinction. In this manner it was given to Aurelian, archbishop of Lyons, in 894, and to Seguin and Theudric archbishops of Sens, in the years 986 and 1000: Gervasius archbishop of Rheims assumed this primacy in virtue of a papal grant. In Germany, John XIII granted, in 967,

to the archbishop of Treves, the rank of vicar of the apostolic see, but only as a precedence of honour; Leo IX, in 1049, renewed this grant, but with this condition, that the bishops of Treves should annually send ambassadors to Rome, and should themselves visit that city every three years. Bardo and Lupold archbishops of Mentz received from the popes John XIX and Leo IX, in 1032 and 1052, the rank of papal vicars, with the power of deciding on causes, which otherwise would have required a judgment of the pope, or the presence of a legate. A similar power was conferred, in 1026, upon the archbishop of Salzburg. Adalbert archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg was named by the pope, in 1050, papal legate and vicar for the entire north, with power to found new bishoprics and to consecrate bishops in the kingdoms of Scandinavia.

SECTION V.

METROPOLITANS.—BISHOPS.—ARCHDEACONS.—ORIGIN OF CATHEDRAL CHAPTERS.—PARISHES AND TITHES.

THE metropolitan government, which under the last of the Merovingians had for the greater part fallen in France, and had been again restored under Pepin, by the exertions of St. Boniface, developed itself from that time until the middle of the ninth century, in a severe exercise of powers, which Hincmar has enumerated in a letter to his nephew, the bishop of Laon. The metropolitan examined, confirmed, and consecrated the bishops of his province, he summoned them to synods, at which each one was bound to appear: to him were to be referred all complaints against a bishop and all disputes of the bishops amongst themselves; he appointed administrators of Churches that had lost their bishops; no bishop could appeal to Rome against the will of the metropolitan, nor without his permission travel beyond the province, send messengers, or alienate the goods of

his Church. Upon the archbishops devolved the care of the entire province; in all ecclesiastical affairs he could be consulted; to him appeals might be made from the judgment of a bishop, and he was empowered, even without convening a synod, of his own authority to correct the errors or the crimes of a bishop.

As a counterpoise to this great power, and to a gradual diminution of it, the frequent changes of territory under the later Carlovingians chiefly assisted. By this means many suffragan bishops were politically separated from their archbishops, and other circumstances soon enabled them without labour to withdraw themselves from their spiritual jurisdiction. The judicial authority of the archbishops over their suffragans was confined and weakened by the greater facility with which bishops could carry their appeals to Rome. The popes had hitherto sent judges to decide on causes at a distance: they now required that messengers with full powers to lay the accusation before their tribunal should be sent to them. The consequence was, that these delegates, not to involve themselves in a labyrinth of controversy, exposed the faults and guilt of the accused bishops with leniency. But the attempt of many metropolitans in the ninth century, arbitrarily to rule the provinces without the aid of provincial synods, and to exercise an immediate jurisdiction in the dioceses of their suffragans, led to the united opposition of their popes and of the bishops. With the fall of the provincial synods the power also of the metropolitans declined. In Germany, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the great civil and political power of the archbishops of Mentz, Treves, Cologne, and Salzburg, threw into the shade their ecclesiastical connexion with their bishops. Still there are not wanting examples of an excessive exercise of power. Thus Berthold of Treves prohibited Wala bishop of Metz from wearing the pallium which had been sent to him by the pope. Poppo also, of Treves, required from Bruno, the new bishop of Toul, at the time of his consecration, that he should undertake nothing in the government of his diocese, without

the consent of his metropolitan. Bruno, after some opposition, and with the condition that it should not extend to extraordinary cases, took the oath.

The power of bishops over their clergy, underwent, during this period, no essential change. Arbitrary deprivations were now, as they had been before, forbidden by the canons. A priest could be deposed only by a canonical judgment, and could even then appeal to the metropolitan or to a provincial synod. During the ninth century, examples may be found in which bishops transferred judgments on particular offences of priests to the pope. A bishop might remove a priest from one parish to another ; and for every removal or change of this kind, when not originating with himself, his consent was necessary. The principle that the bishop was master of all the ecclesiastical property of his diocese was acknowledged in theory, but in practice it was almost destroyed by the institution of the right of patronage. The right of presenting priests to churches in the country, was granted or confirmed in France by the synod of Orleans, in 541, and in Spain by the synod of Toledo, in 655, to the founders of those churches : a capitulary of the year 816, prohibited bishops from rejecting clerics, who had been presented by lay patrons, if they were not found unworthy. The nobles acquired in particular the right of presenting to their private chapels and oratories. But this contraction of the episcopal authority was of no importance when compared with the following, which brought with it the great alienation of Church property from the eighth to the eleventh century. Many temporal barons, who either by force or by royal grants, had obtained possession of churches, contented not themselves with the use of their possessions ; but, in their ideas of feudal law, considered the churches as their properties ; they therefore named and granted investiture to the priests, deprived them at pleasure, allowed them for their maintenance as much as they thought fit, and treated them as vassals engaged in their service. These feudal lords of the churches appropriated to themselves the tithes and ob-

lations ; they took even the fees, or imposed a tax upon them. These churches would naturally become an article of commerce ; they were bought and sold, let out and exchanged, and were even given by their lords as dowers to daughters. The Church, in its persevering opposition to this abuse and to its unhappy consequences, was often compelled to confine itself in its demands, to the condition, that for the future, no free church should be subjected to this state of servitude, and that a third part, at least, of the tithes should be allowed to the officiating priest. At the close of the period, this abuse had arrived at such a height, that the new bishop of Chalons on the Saone, in 1070, could find through the whole of his diocese scarcely one free church ; all had fallen into the hands of laics.

Not less prejudicial to episcopal authority and to ecclesiastical discipline was the multiplication of private chapels and oratories in the castles and other dwellings of the nobles, erected by them for their own use, and the use of their dependants. By this means there was formed a class of domestic clergy, who were attached to the service of their lords, and who were employed by them, as the archbishop Agobard complains, often in the most degrading of offices,—to wait at table, to attend to their horses and hounds,—and who were, therefore, generally ignorant, rude, and immoral. Seldom could the bishops exercise authority over these ecclesiastics, protected by their patrons : these priests endeavoured rather, as we learn from a canon of a synod of Pavia, in 850, to exempt themselves entirely from the jurisdiction of their bishops. As the nobles, according to their notions of property, would not acknowledge that episcopal jurisdiction extended to the churches and chapels which belonged, as they imagined, exclusively to themselves, they remained with their castle-clergy and their followers at a distance from the public worship, the synod of Meaux, in 845, requested the nobles that they would allow their chaplains to labour in the extirpation of the abuses and vices which found a place in their castles, whilst the parish priests

and the clergy of the bishops would attend to the other people. Prejudicial also to Church discipline was the rise of *absolute ordinations*. According to the ancient discipline, every priest at his ordination was destined for the service of some particular church: exceptions to this rule were first made in favour of those who consecrated their labours to the conversion of infidels; but by degrees the practice began to prevail of ordaining priests who had no particular destination. The consequence was, that not a few ecclesiastics led an irregular, wandering life, disgraced their sacerdotal rank by their excesses, slighted the jurisdiction of their bishops, and bartered the most holy of religious rites for money. The revival of the ancient capitulary of Charlemagne against absolute ordinations did little to remove the evil.

According to the prescriptions of the capitularies and of the provincial councils every bishop was bound to hold annually a *diocesan synod*: according to another ordinance, the priests of every diocese were commanded to assemble in different divisions, and to receive during several days from the bishop or his assistants instructions on the duties of their ministry. With the visitations of the dioceses was connected from the eighth century, the institution of *conferences*, which the bishop or his archdeacon held yearly in every community. In these, seven sworn men, named synodal witnesses, were interrogated on the state of the community, on the vices that might prevail and abuses that might have been admitted into it. The prelate then imposed ecclesiastical censures on the guilty, and if any should resist his authority, the aid of the civil power was called in, according to a capitulary of 853, to reduce them to obedience.

Chorepiscopi, contrary however to the canons, still continued to exercise some episcopal functions. They ordained deacons and priests, administered the sacrament of confirmation, consecrated the chrism, and maintained themselves against the decrees of popes and councils, partly because other bishops, consulting their

own ease and indolence, employed them as their assistants, and partly because kings often placed them in the administration of vacant sees, that they might the longer keep to themselves the revenues. Rabanus archbishop of Mentz undertook their defence; but towards the middle of the tenth century, they ceased to exist. Hence Poppo archbishop of Treves, in 1036, obtained from the pope Benedict IX the first titular or suffragan bishop, who was to assist him in the exercise of his episcopal duties.

In the execution of the judicial powers of the bishop, of the care of the churches and of the ecclesiastics in the country, and of the visitation of the diocese, the *archdeacons* were the representatives of the bishops. In the eighth century, the more extensive dioceses were divided into several archdeaconries. One of the first bishops who thus divided his diocese was Heddo, archbishop of Strasburg: he formed seven archdeaconries, the confirmation of which he obtained from pope Adrian in 774. For a long time, the archdeacons, although they possessed jurisdiction over parish priests, and even over archpriests, had received only the order of deacon. Hincmar of Rheims, however, designates the two archdeacons of his diocese as priests. The power of the archdeacon was originally only delegated by the bishop, but as Heddo of Strasburg declares that his archdeacons could be deprived only by a canonical sentence, it appears that they by degrees acquired an ordinary jurisdiction, which they exercised with a certain independence, and during the vacancy of the see. In smaller dioceses, rural chapters were formed, over which the archpriests or deans presided. The synod of Pavia, in 850, prescribed to bishops to form them in all parts of their dioceses.

Many bishops, following the example of St. Augustin, of St. Eusebius of Vercelli, and others, lived in community with the ecclesiastics of their cathedrals. The synod of Vernon, in 775, said that this was "to live under the hands of the bishop, according to canonical order." The *institution of cathedral canons* was known

therefore before the time of Chrodegang bishop of Metz, and hence his rule, which was only a severe reformation of this already existing but degenerated form of life, found so easy and such general acceptance. About the year 765, Chrodegang collected together in one residence all the higher and inferior ecclesiastics of his church, and gave to them a rule of life, drawn principally from the decrees of councils, from the customs of the canons of St. John Lateran, and from the rule of St. Benedict. By this means, the cathedral was made a species of cloister, in which the clerics lived, like monks, in a state of obedience to their bishop. They all slept and took their meals in the same apartments: they prayed together by day and by night: they confessed twice in each year to the bishop: they employed certain hours of the day in manual labour, and at other stated times attended in chapter to a lecture or exhortation of the bishop: they surrendered at their entrance into the community all their property to the cathedral, but they partook of its revenues and of all presents and fees that it received. This union of a mode of life difficult and severe, founded on great self-denial and mortification, with the possession of private property, could not be of long duration; for either the spirit of the rule would destroy this practice, which was opposed to it, and would substitute in its place the true evangelical poverty, or the possession of private property would end in a relaxation and destruction of the rule. Both these consequences occurred, but at different times.

The rule of Chrodegang was in a short time introduced into many dioceses, and the almost general use, after the year 789, of the name of **CANONS**, to designate the clerics of the cathedral, proves to us that this cloister-like life, although it may not always have been in exact conformity to the new rule, was extensively spread through France. Royal ordinances and decrees of synods imposed upon every bishop who possessed the means the duty of introducing the canonical institute into his diocese. Many other clerics who were attached to particular churches lived in community

under abbots, without being monks. In these communities, the rule, founded on that of Chrodegang, and framed by the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 816, was the most generally observed. The synod of Pontion, in 876, commanded that every bishop should erect near his cathedral a cloister, in which he and his clergy should together serve God. But the bishop was not the only superior of the chapter : the provost, who at first was generally the archdeacon of the see, and the dean, possessed authority and power in the internal regulations of the community. In the government of the diocese, the chapter succeeded to the elder priests, who before assisted the bishop : the canons formed the council of the bishop, and gave their advice in his more weighty affairs. They obtained from civil and ecclesiastical superiors many of the privileges of independent corporations.

But in the tenth century the canonical mode of life became extinct in many chapters, particularly in Germany. This extinction is to be attributed to the increasing riches of the foundations, to the usurpations of laics, and to the generally-prevailing inclination to liberty and dissipation. The wealth that was before possessed in common was now divided into particular prebends, and the canons went to reside in distinct habitations. Many bishops and temporal princes, therefore, placed monks in the houses which had been abandoned by the canons ; as, on the other hand, and perhaps more frequently, regular canons were made to occupy the cloisters of degenerate monks. In the eleventh century a reformation was introduced into cathedral and collegiate chapters. In many, the ancient canonical rule of life was restored, and in some the duty of entire poverty was introduced. New chapters were founded after the year 1040, and the two synods of Rome, in 1059 and 1063, laboured earnestly to restore generally the canonical institute and a community of goods.

Before the eleventh century there were no distinct *parishes* in episcopal cities : the cathedral was ordina-

rily the only church in which the faithful assembled on Sundays and festivals, to assist at the holy sacrifice and to receive the sacraments. In the year 995, Obert bishop of Verona, in a synod held in that city, complained that the monks of a certain cloister, on the principal festivals of the year, celebrated mass in their church. The synod decreed that they, as well as the clergy of other churches, should abstain from offering the holy sacrifice on those days. The first traces of a variation in this discipline are found in the synod of Limoges, in 1032. This synod decided against the representations of the cathedral canons, that in other churches baptism might be administered and sermons preached to the people. Besides the great increase in the number of the inhabitants, the great contest of reformation which arose towards the close of this century, contributed much to the formation of city parishes. Many separated themselves from their bishops and from the canons of the cathedrals, whom they viewed as schismatics, or as guilty of simony or immorality, and visited other churches to receive the sacraments.

Tithes, the payment of which had been enforced by earlier synods, were universally introduced, even by the laws of the state. But all ecclesiastical tithes were not alike. In the Roman empire many churches had received tithes from the emperors as patrimonial rights. In later times, the bishops and cloisters obtained from the French kings grants of the customs, to which the right of tithes was annexed ; or they received tracts of uncultivated land, which, if the clergy did not cultivate them, they let out to husbandmen, with the reservation of the tithes of the produce. Other tithes were derived from a land-tax, which free possessors of the soil paid to the clergy, according to contract, for grants received from them. It was customary also to pay, with the tithes, a ninth part also (*nonæ et decimæ*) for these grants made to free men, in the same manner as half-possessors paid the half of the produce. Different from this land-tax, to which churches and cloisters, like all other proprietors of land, were entitled, were the tithes

which, according to the analogy of the precept of the ancient law, all were bound to pay, for the worship of God, for the maintenance of those who laboured for the salvation of their souls, and for the relief of the poor. The obligation of these tithes, the payment of which was first made general by a capitulary of Charlemagne in 779, was founded on the divine commandment, so far at least as it was always a duty of man to dedicate a portion of his wealth to the necessities of the Church and of the poor. The Church, in imitation of the Mosaic ordinance, named the tenth as the minimum of this contribution. Pepin, by a decree of 764, imposed the payment of tithes upon all the royal possessions: Charlemagne extended it to all lands, not excepting those of the king. It appears, however, that the crown lands were in a short time freed from payment. The tithes were generally paid to the bishop, as the administrator of all the ecclesiastical goods of his diocese. In Saxony, bishoprics were, for the most part, founded on the tithes. Lewis the Pious, in 814, gave to the cathedral of Halberstadt all the tithes of the bishopric. It was the duty of the bishop to distribute to the churches and clergy of his see relief according to their wants. We find, however, in the capitularies, provisions by which the tithes of particular districts are reserved to the resident clergy, who, by episcopal constitutions and by the laws of the Church, were bound to divide the same into three parts—for the fabric of their church, for the poor, and for their own support. Later decrees instituted a division into four parts: the fourth part was allotted to the bishop. There was also the real or prædial tithe, which was generally imposed. We find, likewise, the blood-wit or blood-tithe, and the personal tithe, which was paid on personal inheritances.

SECTION VI.

THE MONASTIC STATE.*

FROM the beginning of this period to the close of the eighth century, we find the monasteries, particularly those of France, in a state of degeneracy and decay. In the south, they had become the prey of the Saracens; in the other parts of Gaul, Charles Martel had lavished them upon warriors and women. The advocates of the abbeys had exercised their power to oppress and to plunder their clients, and the falling monasteries brought with them in their ruin the public schools that had been established in them. In the year 755 the province of Maine alone possessed six-and-thirty cloisters, the greater part of which Gauzelin, who had invaded the see of Mans, destroyed.

Whilst the kings Carlomann and Pepin laboured with the bishops to arrest the progress of this evil, Germany saw arising within itself, chiefly by the exertions of St. Boniface and his disciples, the new monasteries of Fritzlar, Fulda, Hirschfield, and Heidenheim. Some years earlier, the zealous Pirman had founded the cloisters of Reichenau, Monsee, Oberaltaich, and Niederaltaich: these were soon succeeded by Ettenheim, Preum, and Lauresheim. Thus was Germany provided with a resource of which it stood in the greatest need—seminaries for the education of its clergy. Many districts of the country were raised to a state of fertility by the monks; in others, agriculture, that had been neglected, was restored.

In the synod of 742, the introduction of the rule of

* *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, cura M. Marrier et Andr. Quercetani, Paris, 1614, fol.; — *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii*, Collectore S. Udalrico, in D'Achery *Spicileg.* i. 641-703; *The Lives of SS. Berno, Odo, Odilo*, in Mabillon *Acta SS. Ordinis S. B. sæc. V et sæc. VI*, tom. i.—*Vita S. Romualdi*, by St. Peter Damian, *ibid.*—*Vita S. Joh. Gualberti*, *ibid.* sæc. VI, tom. ii.

St. Benedict into all the monasteries of the Franks was first decreed. Down to that time, the rule of St. Columban had been observed by many. Although the great majority of the monks were laymen, they continued to be numbered amongst the clergy; and the synod of Rome, in 827, ordained that henceforth no other than a priest should be elected abbot: but this canon did not obtain general observance. With the permission of the bishops, parishes were entrusted to monks after the commencement of the ninth century; and the council of Paris, in 829, remarked that many gave the preference to monks, as confessors, although the greater part of the priests who were amongst the monks received jurisdiction from the bishops only in favour of those resident in the cloisters. But the authority of bishops over the cloisters and over the monks of their diocese remained undiminished. According to a canon of the council of Frankfort, in 794, no abbot, although he had received the approbation of the king, could be installed without the consent of the bishop. At Mentz, in 813, it was decreed that the bishops should accompany the commissioners (*missi*) of the king in the visitation of cloisters, and that abbots should not engage in law-suits until they had obtained permission from the bishop.

Lewis the Pious called together, in 817, a numerous body of abbots and monks at Aix-la-Chapelle, to deliberate with them on the amelioration of their institute. Under the direction of Benedict, the holy and zealous abbot of Aniane, an explication of their rule, in eighty articles, was presented to the assembly. The rule in this form in a short time obtained an authority equal to that of St. Benedict, and was received not many years later even in Italy. Lewis commissioned Benedict and Arnulf the abbot of Nermoutier to visit all the monasteries of his kingdom, and to introduce into them the discipline of the new statutes. In many monasteries the attempt produced strife and confusion; and many monks, rather than subject themselves to the newly-formed rule, embraced the institute of canons. Bene-

dict, who possessed the entire confidence of the king, obtained from him an order, that only those abbots who lived according to the rule, and not secular commendatory abbots, should be placed over the monasteries. This decree also was not fully observed. The abbeys which received the reform of Benedict continued to acknowledge him as their superior, so that in the latter years of his life he found himself at the head of twelve religious houses. He died in 821, with the fame of having been the restorer of monastic discipline in France.

The Carlovingian kings granted to the monasteries an immunity which exempted them from the jurisdiction of public judges; to many they granted even the blood-wit. They ceded to them also many royal privileges. But the chief source from which the monasteries derived their wealth was from the *precaries*—grants of goods, the use of which the recipient reserved to himself or to his next heir, or received them from the monasteries as *prestaries*, for the payment of an annual tax. It happened also not unfrequently that other proprietors gave as *precaries* portions of their own lands to monasteries, to obtain from them others which they desired, both to become the property of the monastery at the death of the contractors. Many persons surrendered themselves up to the service of abbeys, from which they obtained protection without forfeiting their civil freedom. A statistic record of the age of Lewis the Pious shows that the number of large monasteries then contained in the French dominions, Italy not reckoned, amounted to eighty-three. Of these, twenty-three were in Germany, twenty-four in French Gaul, and thirty-six in Aquitaine. They were divided into three classes. Those of the first class paid tribute to the king, and furnished him with supplies in war; those of the second class paid only tribute; the third class were free from both duties, and were bound only to pray for the welfare of the emperor and his people.

Soon after the middle of the ninth century many flourishing monasteries fell under the devastating incur-

sions of the Normans, in the west, and of the Hungarians in the east. The state in which the monastic institute existed at the commencement of the tenth century we may learn from the narration given by the synod of Trosly, in 909,—that of the many abbeys which France once possessed, some had been destroyed by flames, others had been plundered of their goods by the infidel invaders. If, indeed, a few ruins remained to tell where monasteries once had stood, monastic discipline had disappeared: for the corporations of canons, of monks, and of nuns, lived without rule: the poverty of the houses, the irregularities of those who dwelt in them, and, more than all, the institution of lay abbots, who lived in the abbeys with their wives and children, their armed retainers and their hounds, were the sources of this melancholy relaxation. Forced by necessity, the monks often left their cells, and engaged, contrary to their own wills, in secular pursuits.

Against such a state of things a council could have devised but weak remedies. But in the following year there were laid the foundations of a monastery, from which there went forth a reanimation of the monastic spirit, that spread itself over the entire Church. The monk Berno undertook the direction of a monastery which had been founded by William duke of Aquitaine, at Cluny, in the diocese of Macon. This house was placed under the protection of the pope, and so soon was it distinguished by the regularity of its discipline, that seven other cloisters were confided to the government of its abbot. Berno was succeeded, in 927, by his still more celebrated disciple St. Odo, under whom the house rose rapidly in fame. Canons and even bishops embraced the monastic life at Cluny, and laymen of the highest rank went there to do penance for their sins; dukes and counts subjected to the abbot the monasteries on their domains, that he might introduce into them the reform of his own house. This reform extended into Italy; and thus was formed the celebrated congregation of Cluny. The fame of the exemplary discipline of this house awakened within men the

desire of conferring rich donations, to such a degree, that St. Odo, in the year of his death, 941, could leave to his successor two hundred and seventy-eight deeds of gift, which during the last thirty-two years had been laid upon the altar of the cloister church. About the same time, St. Gerhard of Brogne reformed a great number of monasteries in Flanders and Lorraine. St. Majolus the fourth abbot of Cluny accompanied Otho I into Italy, and was intended by him to reform the Italian monasteries. He had before refused the archdiocese of Besançon, and Otho II now wished to raise him to the popedom.* On account of the great extent to which the reform of Cluny now reached, St. Majolus saw that the most effectual method that he could adopt for the reformation of the monasteries which were surrendered to him, was to send to them colonies of his own monks, who replaced those who would not submit to the new discipline. A famed scholar of St. Majolus was the monk William, who reformed the monasteries in Normandy and in the north of France, who established schools in the reformed cloisters, and in 995 saw himself at the head of twelve hundred monks, in forty different monasteries. With the same happy results, Richard, abbot of St. Vannes in Verdun, laboured in the reformation of the cloisters in Belgium. The strict regularity, the zeal, and the piety of so many monasteries, which had embraced the reform, again raised the monastic profession in the public estimation, so that towards the end of the tenth century many of the ruined abbeys rose again in splendour, new ones were erected, nor did princes easily presume to give a reformed cloister in prey to a lay abbot.

During the administration of St. Odilo, from 995 to 1048, the abbey of Cluny arose to still higher authority. Filiactions from it extended as far as Spain and Poland. Many great abbeys received the reform of Cluny, without, however, becoming subject to its abbots: others entered into a state of dependence, and were governed

* See page 140.

by vice-abbots, representatives of the abbot of Cluny. Many smaller cloisters, then called cells, and later, priories, were also subject to this abbey, as to their parent house. Pope Gregory V confirmed to this chief cloister all its possessions, together with all its daughter-monasteries : they were all exempted from episcopal jurisdiction ; they were free in the election of their abbots, who might receive the abbatial institution from any bishop. The rule of St. Benedict was observed in this congregation with the greatest exactness ; but particular customs were introduced in addition to it. We may mention of these, the almost unbroken silence which was so rigidly observed, as to give occasion to the introduction of a language of signs, the public confession of sins, and the conjunction of manual labour with the office of the choir.

From the end of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century, many holy men in Italy, driven by the view of the almost universal corruption of manners which then prevailed, retired to distant lands, to renew and to emulate the austerities of the ancient anchorites of the East. Amongst these, the most conspicuous was perhaps the blessed Romuald, who was descended from the ducal house of Ravenna,—a man who passed the greater part of a long life in the solitary recesses of mountains and of forests, and who, wherever he placed his abode, drew around him crowds of holy disciples. He was an almost irresistible herald of penance : he possessed the power of converting the most obdurate sinners, and of causing the great ones of the earth to tremble at his word or at his look. When he had filled a monastery with monks, he placed over them a superior, and left them to form other communities. Towards the end of his life, about the year 1023, he founded the congregation of Camaldoli, in the valley of the Appennines, not far distant from Arezzo in Tuscany. Here several hermits, living in separate cells, dedicated themselves to exercises of piety, in silence, which was seldom interrupted, and in perpetual abstinence from flesh and wine. This small union of holy men gradually increased

and grew into an extensive congregation, consisting partly of hermits, and partly of cenobites. Some years later, in 1036, St. John Gualbert, conducted by a desire of deeper solitude, left the monastery of St. Miniatis in Tuscany, and founded in the Florentine territory the congregation of Vallombrosa, giving to it the strictest observance of the rule of St. Benedict. His disciples lived at first, like the Camaldolesi, as hermits; but they were afterwards collected by him into a monastery.

The privileges which were granted by kings and bishops to monasteries so generally during the eighth and ninth centuries, regarded chiefly two points,—the free election of abbots, their preservation against the intrusion of commendatory abbots, and the administration of the temporalities. Many privileges that were conceded by popes, at the request even of bishops, only confirmed them in these rights, without exempting them from the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishops. But there was, in fact, contained in the grant of the above-named rights a diminution of the episcopal power, for it was the bishop who had hitherto given superiors to ecclesiastical communities, and who had directed the disposal of all Church property within his diocese. But the power to elect their abbots, after it had been recognised in the monks by civil and ecclesiastical law, and by the rule of St. Benedict, could no longer be considered as a privilege, but as a natural and ordinary right. Some abbeys were placed by their first founders under the immediate protection of the Roman see; but this did not at all suppose an exemption from the jurisdiction of the respective bishops; and these papal privileges were generally letters of protection against arbitrary oppressions, of which the bishops themselves were sometimes the authors. The direct authority over some monasteries was given to the Roman see, in acknowledgment of which a yearly tribute was paid to the pope. Some privileges of exemption took from the bishops the right of visiting the monasteries, and of deposing the abbots; but the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishops suffered no diminution. Only they could

ordain the clergy of the monasteries ; the consecration of churches and of altars could be performed only by them, and from them only could the chrism be obtained. Entire exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction were rarely known before the eleventh century. The abbey of Fulda indeed enjoyed, from the time of its first foundation, by a papal grant, confirmed by king Pepin, an exemption of this kind : but this exception arose from the peculiar circumstance, that the country in which the abbey was erected formed at that time part of no episcopal see. At the synod of Anse, in 1025, the French bishops rejected a papal grant of privilege, in virtue of which the priests of Cluny were empowered to receive ordination from any bishop. But in 1063 the privileges of Cluny, which had been extended by grants of Alexander II, were solemnly recognised by the council of Châlons ; and Drago, bishop of Mâcon, who wished, notwithstanding this recognition, to exercise his jurisdiction over the abbey, was subjected to public penance. Many bishops to whom these privileges were offensive, hesitated not to act with severity towards the cloisters. Thus we know that the bishop of Amiens oppressed the abbey of Corbey, and the bishop of Paris that of St. Denis ; but the pope interfered in favour of the monasteries ; and this circumstance was probably the cause why the pope exempted from all episcopal jurisdiction, at the request of the bishop of Chartres himself, the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Vendôme.

SECTION VII.

COLLECTIONS AND WORKS OF CANON LAW.*

THE Spanish collection of canons, which circulated during the seventh century, under the name of St. Isidore bishop of Seville, received from time to time many

* The Isidorian Decretals, in Merlini Concilior. tom. i., Paris, 1522, fol. ; Dav. Blondelli Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus Vapulantes, Geneva.

additions from different hands. Towards the middle of the ninth century, many spurious fragments were introduced into it: fifty-nine epistles of the first thirty popes, from Clement to Melchiades; forged fragments also amongst the genuine (but by many additions altered) decrees of the popes, from Silvester to Gregory II; and lastly, some false councils were added to this collection. In this extensive falsification we are not to suppose that there was a successive progression: all was the work of one man, or, if he were assisted by others, his coadjutors must have laboured according to his plans. These forged records are in part dogmatical, directed against the errors of the Arians, Nestorians, and Monophysites, and in part, and this is the greater portion, they contain exhortations and precepts of morality; many of them refer to the administration of the sacraments and to the accompanying ceremonies, to the liturgy, and to the penitential discipline; others regard the protection of the clergy against arbitrary oppression, accusations, and deprivation, the security of ecclesiastical property, and the constitution and good order of the Church. The materials from which these records were formed were ancient documents, to which the author had access:—the Roman Pontifical book, the historical works of Rufinus and Cassiodorus, the acts of true but more modern synods, the writings of the Latin fathers of the Church, and the collections of Roman law.

The falsification and fabrication of ecclesiastical documents were, in this age, not unfrequent, and in the Isidorian collection, of which we are now speaking, there are, besides the new, many more ancient apocryphal writings. Thus a capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle, of the year 803, gives a passage of the decretal of pope Innocent to Victricius, according to which, the *greater causes* were to be submitted to the pope in the second

1628, 4to. ; The Dissertations of Ballerini and of C. Blasco, in Gallandii Sylloge Dissertationum de vet. Canonum Collectionibus, Mogunt. 1790, 2 vols. 4to. ; Kunst, De Fontibus et Consilio Pseudo-Isidor. Collectionis, Goetting. 1832 ; Regino, De Eccles. Disciplina, ed. Baluze, Paris, 1671 ; Buchardi, Decretorum libri xx, Colon. 1548, fol.

instance, after the decision of the bishop, with this great change, which corresponds with the discipline which was then forming, that they might be laid before the Roman see even in the first instance. But something greater than this was undertaken by the author of the Isidorian decretals. He wished to place in the hands of the clergy of his age a book of instruction and of law, such as was required by the necessities of the times. He doubtlessly imagined that the ecclesiastical legislation, as far as he was acquainted with it, did not meet these necessities. Many things that had been ordained by provincial councils were little observed, on account of the confined authority of the source from which they emanated: the memory of many other decrees had been lost, and here is shown the use which the author has made of the Roman Pontifical Book. He has taken answers and provisions of the popes, contained in it, and has extended them into entire decretals, his object being to fill up an extensive chasm in ecclesiastical legislation and to supply for a great loss. For this end, he drew from more recent sources whatever corresponded to the contents of the Pontifical Book, so that the deception, which he allowed himself to practise, may be confined to a change of more modern for more ancient names and dates.

Different objects have been assigned for this falsification. Some have supposed that the author had in view the exaltation of the papal power; others, that he laboured for the discontinuance of provincial and national synods, and for the liberation of the Church from its connexion with the state. The first of these suppositions is evidently incorrect. Had the papal power stood in need of the extension which it might acquire by these decretals, the author would rather have selected the form of council canons, to have gained by these for the popes that authority which he desired; he would not have confined himself within the narrow span of his own decretals, whereon to build the power of the popes, and then confirm his decretals by their authority. But more decidedly it could not have been his design to introduce

a new discipline into the Church. Had his book been in open variance with the chief points of the prevailing discipline, it would at once have awakened suspicion ; examinations would have been instituted, and in an age which possessed critical acumen, sufficient to detect the falsity of the title of a book (the *Hypognosticon*), which was circulated under the name of St. Augustine, the imposition would have been detected—an imposition, which, such as it really was, lay concealed, because the principles and laws of ecclesiastical discipline of the age corresponding with the contents of the work, excited no surprise. One of the chief modern rights of the popes, the confirmation of the election of bishops is not once mentioned ; the translation of the bishops, is not given as a right reserved to the pontiff, although before this time scarcely a bishop had been removed in France from one see to another without the consent of the pope. With regard to the pallium, which has been considered by some as an artful invention to diminish the authority of the metropolitans, the Isidorian decretals are silent. In trials of bishops they do not assert that every accusation against a bishop might be referred, as a *causa major*, immediately to the pope, but that the accused might appeal from the sentence of a provincial council, or before it, if he apprehended partiality in the court. In some passages, indeed, the entirely new principle was advanced, that provincial synods, generally, could not judge a bishop without the permission of the pontiff. On the other hand, the decretals recognize, in simple priests, the right to appeal to the see of Rome ; although, about the time of their appearance, such appeals were not of rare occurrence. The authority of metropolitans is acknowledged in express terms ; provincial synods, one of the principal supports of this authority, are repeatedly recommended, and bishops are exhorted to hold the same according to the laws of the Church. To the assertion of the general proposition, that synods could not be convened without the approbation of the bishop of Rome, the author was led by the almost similar words, which the *Historia Tripartita* ascribes to

pope Julius, to whom the author also refers them. This principle was not practically followed in the Church. The ordinances which relate to judicial proceedings against ecclesiastics, are taken chiefly from the Roman law. That the collector has brought together on this subject, all that weighed most heavily on ecclesiastics, and that he has represented the clergy as almost inviolable, cannot be denied. The strongest assertion that he has advanced is the ordinance taken from the ancient, but not genuine, biography of pope Silvester, that laics can never appear as accusers of ecclesiastics. This also was never observed in practice. The design of this part of the work was directed against the unbridled caprice and tyranny to which the clergy were subjected, under the form of law, in the kingdom of the west French.

This new collection of decretals was formed in the west of Europe, either in the kingdom of Charles the Bald, or in Lorraine, and was first circulated about the middle of the ninth century. It contains fragments of the synods of Paris and of Aix-la-Chapelle, which were held in the years 829 and 836 ; and, as it speaks with great exactness and at great length of the rights of primates or apostolical vicars, who were restored in west France, after a long interruption, in the year 844, it is probable that the date of its compilation falls between the years 845 and 848. A public use of it was first made, in the year 857, when Charles the Bald addressed to the bishops and nobles of France, in the name of the synod of Quiercy, a letter, in which are contained passages from these fabricated decretals. Most striking is the connexion and similarity between these decretals and the collections made by Benedict, a deacon of Mentz, in 840 and 847. This circumstance led D. Blondel to the conjecture that both collections were the work of one author. This, however, is certain, that this pseudo-Isidorian collection was not compiled at Rome, where it was not known until some years after its publication, but in the kingdom of the west Franks, whence it found its way to other parts. Pope Nicholas I

appears not to have known of the collection in 863, for, in a letter to Hincmar, in which he names the sources from which the Roman Church drew its rules of ecclesiastical discipline, he makes mention only of the decretals of Siricius, contained in the *Codex* of Dionysius. Two years later the pope undertook the defence of the Isidorian decretals against Hincmar, who had objected to their legal authority, because they were not contained in the *Codex*, which was the only book of ecclesiastical law that was received in Gaul ; or rather, the pope combated the principle which formed the foundation of this rejection, that a papal decree obtains canonical authority only when it has been received into a collection of canons. He makes no use of the Isidorian collection, he adduces none of its decretals, and it may even be doubted whether he had seen the work.

Two collections, which both contain extracts from the Isidorian decretals, namely, the *Capitula* of Angilramn, bishop of Metz, which he received at Rome, in 785, from pope Adrian I ; or, which, according to another reading, he presented to the pope, and the collection supposed to have been formed by Remigius bishop of Chur (800-820), would, if these dates were correct, oblige us to place the compilation of the Isidorian decretals at a much earlier period. But, in all probability, the titles of these collections are as fictitious as their contents. In the collections of later times, the new decretals are used sometimes more, sometimes less. This we may see in the work of Regino abbot of Prüm, who died in 915, an instruction for bishops in the visitation of their dioceses ; and in the great collection of Burchard bishop of Worms, who died in 1025.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

STATE OF THE CHURCH IN PARTICULAR COUNTRIES.

SECTION I.—THE CHURCH IN FRENCH GAUL.*

THE commencement of this period beheld, in French Gaul, the sceptre of dominion pass from the weak hands of the Merovingians into the firmer grasp of the Carlovingians. It was a time in which the Church of Gaul was in a condition which, had it been of longer continuance, would have hurried it to decay and ruin. In earlier ages, after the conquests of the Franks, the clergy had separated themselves almost entirely from the mass of the Gallo-Roman population; but by degrees they were compelled to admit into their body men from amongst their conquerors; and the richer was their church, the more eagerly did the Franks aspire to its possessions. If at the synod of Mâcon, in 585, we find only six German names amongst the sixty-three bishops and priests who were present, we find, on the contrary, in a record of the younger Clovis, in 653, only five Roman names amongst the five-and-forty subscriptions attached to it; all the others are German. This fact proves to us the great change that had been effected within eighty years in the personal condition of the clergy; it proves to us, that towards the close of the seventh century the majority of the higher clergy were men of German origin. But only a few of these had acquired their ecclesiastical dignities by their merits;

* Flodoardi, *Historia Ecclesiæ Rhemensis* (to 948) ed. Colvernerius, Duaci, 1617; Glabri Radulphi *Historia Francorum*, in Bouquet, *Rerum Gall. Scriptores*, tom. x.

Le Cointe, *Annales Ecclesiastici Francorum*, Paris, 1668, fol. tom. iv.-viii; Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, Paris, 1732, tom. iv.-vii.

they had either purchased them from the kings, or they had obtained them through the powerful influence of their relatives, or, what was more common, they had seized them by violence. Nor was their conduct in them unworthy of the manner in which they had procured them. Their rudeness, their ignorance, their moral depravity, the confusion introduced by them into all that was ecclesiastical, descended from them to the inferior clergy. There were bishops, such as Savaric of Auxerre, who, during the confusion after the death of Pepin of Heristal, carried on war through ambition and through the mere love of fight; who conquered provinces, and ruled them as sovereigns. Already had begun the prejudicial union of many ecclesiastical benefices in one person. Hugo bishop of Rouen, about the year 718, was at the same time bishop of Paris and Bayeux, and abbot of Fontenelle and Jumièges. On the other side, the Church was, in consequence of the universal dissolution of all social relations, so defenceless, that many bishops, such as Tetric of Auxerre, Gaudin of Soissons, Lambert of Maestricht, were murdered, about the year 707. Under Charles Martel, the measure of iniquity was filled. This chieftain, to attach to himself his followers, those Frank warriors, with whom, like another Clovis, he had a second time conquered Gaul, knew no better means to obtain his end, than to bestow upon them with a prodigal hand bishoprics and rich abbeys. Less evil would have been the consequence of this spoliation, had it been confined to the temporal possessions of the Church; but he not unfrequently placed these men of the sword amongst the clergy, and to give them an appearance of legal claims he appointed them bishops and abbots. There were now to be seen abbots who expended the revenues of their abbeys in worldly pomp, whilst their monks were abandoned to poverty and to vice. Bishoprics fell into the hands of men, such as was Milo, one of the followers of Charles, who for forty years desolated the church of Rheims, and for a part of that period the church also of Treves. Thus were ecclesiastical foundations

in these dioceses dissipated, and the clergy, instead of representing an united, organic body, were the model only of an unconnected crowd of depraved individuals.

Pepin and Carlomann, the sons of Charles, exerted their serious endeavours, the former in Neustria, the latter in Austrasia, to raise the Church of Gaul from this state of degradation. Carlomann, in the beginning of his reign, called from Germany into Gaul, St. Boniface, the vicar of the Roman see, and besought him to hold a synod for the restoration of ecclesiastical order, which had been destroyed by the grievous corruptions of seventy years. This synod was convened in the year 742 : it was composed of Austrasian bishops, and was attended by the temporal barons. Many unworthy ecclesiastics were deposed and subjected to penance : the bearing of arms, military service, hunting, a worldly mode of dress, and residence in the same dwelling with females, were prohibited to the clergy ; priests were severely commanded to obey their bishops, and annual synods were decreed. In another assembly, which met soon after at Lestines, in the diocese of Cambray, it was ordained that the king should for a time employ a portion of ecclesiastical property for the maintenance of his army ; but that a tax upon this portion should be paid to the churches and monasteries which had been recently plundered. By this means the bishops obtained an acknowledgment of the right of the Church to its alienated property. Similar ordinances were passed by a synod which was called by Pepin in 744 at Soissons. At another synod, over which St. Boniface presided, in 746, many French bishops, who had been in hostility with the pope, probably because they refused to acknowledge the legatine powers of St. Boniface over the churches of Gaul, solemnly promised canonical obedience to the see of Rome. The metropolitan authority, which had disappeared in the confusion of these latter times, was now restored and confirmed.

Charlemagne prosecuted the work of restoration which his father and uncle had begun. The reign of Charlemagne forms the golden age of the Church of

French Gaul. The exaltation of the Church, the strengthening of its internal order, the extension of its influence upon social life, formed the chief occupation of his life. His capitularies refer principally to ecclesiastical affairs : as guardian of the Church, he exercised an extensive vigilance over all its interests ; ecclesiastics, as possessors of ecclesiastical property, were subjected to him, no less than were his temporal vassals. But never did he attempt to meet with jealousy or suspicion the authority of the head of the Church ; never did he seek to oppose or to limit its power ; he, on the contrary, published all his decrees on ecclesiastical affairs under the authority of the pope, or with the approbation of the Roman see ; he exhorted all to obey the commands of this see, even then when it imposed upon them an almost intolerable yoke. Not less near to his heart was the desire to bring all into subjection to the episcopal hierarchy ; for in a capitulary of the year 804, he declared that he should learn the fidelity of his subjects from their obedience in ecclesiastical matters to their bishops. Those who refused this obedience were to be punished with exile, confiscation, and infamy. Charles frequently selected the chief officers of his state from amongst the clergy : his messengers (*missi dominici*) who were sent to examine into the state of the country, to watch the administration of justice, to receive and to examine complaints, to call the counts, the bishops, abbots, and the royal vassals to meet in council, were, at least the half of them, ecclesiastics. In the year 813, he caused, for the promotion of a general amelioration of morals, five synods to be convoked, almost at the same time, at Arles, Rheims, Mentz, Tours, and Chalons-on-the-Soane. He afterwards, at the diet of Aix-la-Chapelle, published a capitulary, which contained the canons of these synods, that required his royal approbation.

In the iron age, which extended from the end of the seventh to the middle of the eighth century, literary and theological education had been almost destroyed ; but the reign of Charlemagne effected here also a most happy

change. He drew around himself the most learned men of the age from the different countries of Europe: from Italy, Peter of Pisa and Paul Warnefried; from England, the most profound theologian of the time, the monk Alcuin, who had been educated in the flourishing cloister school of York; men such as Theodolph and Leidrad, the former bishop of Orleans, the latter archbishop of Lyons, were constantly in his company. In the year 787, he, by a circular letter, exhorted all bishops and abbots to erect in their cathedrals and monasteries schools for the instruction of the clergy, in which the liberal arts might be taught and the Scriptures explained. To incite the clergy to a more profound study of theology, he himself sent to them questions on the doctrine and discipline of the Church. Schools were therefore now erected after the model of those in the court of Lyons, and at Orleans in almost every cathedral and cloister; the most celebrated of these schools was that which was under the guidance of Alcuin in the monastery of St. Martin of Tours. From it there went forth Amalarius of Treves, Rabanus of Mentz, Heto abbot of Fulda, Haimo of Halberstadt, and Samuel of Worms. Under the direction of Rabanus the school of Fulda arose to great celebrity, and at the same time flourished the schools of Corbey, Aniane, St. Germanus of Auxerre, Reihonau, and Hirsan.

Charles's weaker, but more pious and more learned, son and successor, Lewis, applied himself to the affairs of the Church with the most serious attention. He himself declared that he accounted the protection and exaltation of the Church and of its ministers, together with the preservation of peace and justice, amongst the most sacred of his duties. At the diet of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 816, he formed a series of laws referring solely to the affairs of the Church; but a succession of troubles, the rebellion of his nephew and of his sons, interrupted the peace of the Church, and of the kingdom. During the civil war many bishops were driven from their sees: others, on account of their participation in the rebellion were deprived; and cloisters and eccle-

siastical property fell again into the plundering hands of the nobles. But Lewis ordained, in 829, that four synods should be held at the same time, at Mentz, Paris, Lyons, and Toulouse, for the improvement of the court, of the clergy, and of the people. He made known the chief means proposed for this purpose, in a capitulary at an assembly at Worms ; but he possessed not the power or the authority to enforce obedience to his decree. Already had the bishops complained that the freedom of election was invaded, that the religious instruction of the people and of children was neglected, that the public schools were again abandoned, that temporal power encroached too far upon ecclesiastical authority, and that many bishops were too deeply engaged in worldly affairs.

During the reign of Charles the Bald, a series of synods were held after the year 840, at Coulaines, Thionville, Loire, Beauvais, and Meaux. Numerous canons were formed for the improvement of the state of the Church, but their frequent repetition proves to us that they were not observed. At an assembly at Epernay, in 846, the temporal barons, who had brought over the king to their side, excluded the bishops from the deliberations, and adopted only those canons which did not nearly affect them, without obliging themselves to the desired restitution of Church property. The wide-extending depredations of the Normans, who plundered churches and cloisters with particular fury, had now begun. These invaders destroyed the city of Rouen in 841 ; in 845 they appeared before Paris, and in 853 they murdered one hundred and sixteen monks of the celebrated monastery of Marmoutier. Through the incapacity of the king, and the wild avarice of many of the nobles, the bishops often saw themselves necessitated to undertake the defence of cities beleaguered by the Normans, or to raise bodies of troops and to place themselves at their head.

That glory of ecclesiastical learning, and that long series of theological writers, who went from the schools of Charlemagne, and who formed themselves during the

interval of peace and tranquillity which he gave to Europe, threw their splendour on the reign of Lewis and of his sons, down to the year 870. Agobard Lupus abbot of Ferrières, Angelmus a monk of Luxeu, Paschasius Radbertus, Ratramnus, Prudentius of Troyes, Florus, Amalarius, Æneas of Paris, Jonas of Orleans, Joannes Erigena, Usuard, Remigius of Lyons, Ado of Vienne, were all more or less contemporaries; none survived the year 875, and, as they left behind them no scholars, or scholars of only little learning, and as so many seats of education were destroyed, schools dispersed, libraries burnt, and as the bishops and priests had to contend with foreign and domestic misery, the ecclesiastical literature of the following years presents an aspect dreary and barren.

Through the whole of the tenth century, the troubled state of the land, which had now become the defenceless booty of the Normans, and of the nobles, who during the impotence of the kingly authority ruled with tyrannic sway, cast its influence also upon the Church. Simony, plunder of ecclesiastical property, and contempt of all ecclesiastical order, were occurrences of every day. The ignorance of the clergy obliged Frothier bishop of Poitiers, and Fulrad bishop of Paris, about the year 910, to engage Abbo, a monk of St. Germain, to compose a series of homilies on the principal truths of Christianity, which might serve their priests as themes for sermons. The synod of Trosley, in 909, lamented that numbers of men had grown old who had never learned the creed or the Lord's prayer. During the civil dissensions of France, when the regal power of the last Carolingians yielded to the might of the greater vassals, and whilst the royal prerogatives were divided amongst many, the political position and the influence of the Church were weakened and disturbed. We no longer hear the episcopacy, assembled in numerous synods, raising its voice against the abuses of the times, —for synods were now rarely convened—we see only individual prelates, powerful by their family connexions or by their political stations, in particular the arch-

bishop of Rheims, who, judging and determining by the course of political events, usurped their sees. But the see of Rheims became itself, about the year 925, the prey of a powerful noble, Herbert count of Vermandois, who forced into it his son Hugo, a youth of fifteen years of age. The pope, the unworthy John X, consented to this act, but commissioned Abbo bishop of Soissons to undertake the spiritual administration of the diocese. Count Herbert opposed this, and conferred the spiritual jurisdiction upon Waldrich bishop of Acques, who had been driven from his see by the Magyari. King Rudolf, when, in 932, he was at enmity with Herbert, and had taken possession of Rheims, caused Artold to be elected archbishop. The new prelate received the pallium from the pope John XI, and in 936, after the death of Rudolf, crowned his successor Lewis IV. But in 940, he fell into the hands of count Herbert and his allies ; he was compelled to resign, and Hugo was again elected archbishop in a synod assembled at Soissons, under the arms of his father ; he was consecrated at Rheims, and maintained himself until the year 946, when Rheims fell into the hands of king Lewis, whose forces were joined with those of the German king Otho, and Artold was again placed in his see by the archbishops of Treves and Mentz. Hugo endeavoured to defend himself by force of arms : the archbishop of Treves, as papal plenipotentiary, assembled two synods at Verdun and Mousson, both of which declared in favour of Artold ; the same declaration was made by the synod of Ingelheim, which was convened by the papal legate Marinus in 948, at which, however, only Rudolf of Laon and Artold appeared from France, as the duke Hugo the Great, whose power was more mighty than that of the king, prevented the attendance of the other French prelates. Hugo was here excommunicated, and Artold remained in quiet possession of the see of Rheims.

Hugh Capet, who, in 987, ascended the throne, and gave to France a new race of kings, had possessed as duke of France greater power than the last of his pre-

decessors, whose immediate possessions were confined to the city of Laon and its surrounding territory. But the founders and the supporters of his kingdom were principally the bishops; they it was, who by their act of coronation and anointing gave to him in the eyes of his contemporaries, a valid claim to the regal dignity; whilst his rival the duke Charles, of lower Lorraine, who was the real heir to the crown, but who had not received the regal unction, was never recognised as king, even by his own adherents. The kingdom had now need of the Church, and the Church of the kingdom. No one had a greater interest than the clergy to see the kingdom raised from that state of impotence and degradation into which it had been cast by the triumph of the feudal system and the entire independence of the nobles. The bishops, too weak to defend themselves against the oppression of these nobles, required the assistance of a powerful protector. It was their interest to maintain themselves in that immediate position with the king, which had been endangered by the usurpations of the dukes; for as it is said by a contemporary, "through the weakness of the kingdom the duke of Aquitaine, and the other great nobles, began to exercise over the bishops that power which had before been possessed by the kings;"* that is, they endeavoured to make the bishops their vassals, and gave to them the investitures of the temporalities of their bishoprics; this was done by the duke of Aquitaine, in 1020, to the bishop of Limoges, and by Thibaut count of Chartres to the abbot of the cloister of St. Peter. But although in later times no particular acts of this kind occurred, still the clergy beheld in these precedents an attack upon their ancient freedom, and never was it conceded by them that the election of a bishop required the consent of any other than the king, or that any other person could confer investitures. Hence those prelates whose dioceses were not within the hereditary domains of the first Capetians, were called to

* Chron. Rich. Mon. Clun. apud Bouquet, x. 264.

the royal councils ; and although the bishops sometimes attended the councils of the great nobles, this was a voluntary participation such as they had formerly taken in the municipal assemblies, but no service. Lastly, it was the clergy who brought the nobles, who exercised an almost sovereign authority in their states, to this recognition (which was most effective for the formation of the regal power), that a public foundation, such as the erection or endowment of a monastery, required the concurrence of regal authority.

In these times of tyranny and slavery, of harsh power on the one hand, and of weakness on the other, the temporal jurisdiction, which had before been exercised by the kings in France, was forced upon the Church, by the necessity of circumstances. Not unfrequently did the kings call for spiritual censures against their vassals, whom they could not subdue by force of arms ; but more frequently did the weakness of the law compel the bishops to have recourse to excommunication, and the excommunicated man was obliged, when he sought to be freed from censure, to lay his cause before the bishop, who alone could absolve him. And now all those who were without protection, and who were suffering from unjust oppression, sought an asylum at the tribunal of the bishops ; here alone they found the will and the power to assist them, here a mild trial according to the forms of law, whilst in other places the sword decided. By the introduction of the *peace of God* and of the *truce of God*, the circle of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was enlarged, as all violations of the peace and of the truce were considered as crimes against religion, and were punished by ecclesiastical censures. But this relation of the episcopacy with the sovereign and the people, as well as the necessity of defending themselves against attacks and usurpations of all kinds, involved the bishops in an endless contest with the feudal nobility ; in which being physically the weaker party, they endeavoured to sharpen their arms of ecclesiastical censure. Thus originated the *Interdict*, of the use of which we find the first example about the end of

the tenth century. The interdict was in reality an extension of the excommunication from the person of the evil-doer to his possessions. The ban to which the offender often showed himself indifferent as long as it affected only himself, was laid upon his castle, then upon his domains ; that is, it was prohibited to celebrate in them the divine worship, or publicly to administer the sacraments. Sometimes also, the ban was laid upon countries which had become the prey of powerful tyranny. Thus about the beginning of the eleventh century, Aldian bishop of Limoges adopted this as the only means of freeing his diocese from devastation and his people from plunder, when he forbade the celebration of the public service in all the churches and cloisters of his bishopric. As this expedient was not so far extended as to deprive the innocent of the necessary means of sanctification, the bishops thought that they might inflict this punishment for the public welfare, and for the duty of self-preservation. But there could not fail occasions in which so powerful a weapon, which ought to have been employed only with the greatest prudence and justice, would, in the hands of unworthy and worldly-minded bishops, be wielded only for evil. As early as the year 1026, it happened that bishops in contests with powerful nobles, subjected without cause their dioceses, and sometimes a whole province, to an interdict. This was done by Robert, the unworthy archbishop of Rouen, who had publicly married, and who in a quarrel with Duke Robert, placed the entire province of Normandy under this sentence.

The confusion of ecclesiastical order and discipline which continued in France to the first half of the eleventh century, until Leo IX adopted strong measures against it, shows itself in the disturbed relations between the bishops and the abbots. Some bishops required from the abbots an oath of fidelity, the same that was required by feudal lords from their vassals : an oath of this kind was taken by Joceline abbot of Fleury to the bishop of Orleans. Many bishops about the year 993 endeavoured to deprive the monasteries of all their

tithes, which, as they asserted, the monks had acquired by usurping them from their lawful owners, the secular clergy : for this purpose, the bishops held a synod at St. Denis, near Paris ; but the monks, supported by the people, defeated the attempts of the prelates. But consequences more formidable still were threatened by another abuse—the daily increasing violation of the law of celibacy. Under the Carlovingsians, the decrees against the mixed society of ecclesiastics and females were frequently renewed, both in the capitularies and in the canons of synods. Priests were permitted to retain in their dwellings, only their mothers, their sisters, or such persons upon whom no suspicion could rest. But in these laws there is no mention of the marriage of priests, for all of them are founded upon the persuasion, that down to the end of the ninth century married priests were not to be found in France. The pope Nicholas I severely reprov'd Ado bishop of Vienne, who had sanctioned the marriage of a subdeacon. The first example of an ecclesiastic who had formally married is found in the diocese of Chalons, in 894 ; and to the bishop Mancio so extraordinary did this example appear, that he consulted with the bishops of the province of Rheims on the punishment with which the offending priest should be visited. A synod of Bourges, in 1031, decreed that every ecclesiastic receiving the order of subdeacon should solemnly vow in the presence of the bishop never to take to himself a wife or concubine, or if he were already married, to separate from his wife. But in Normandy and Bretagne this law of the Church was about this time violated without shame. After the invasion of Rollo, the rudest and the most ignorant of his Norman followers found their way by degrees amongst the clergy : they continued when ecclesiastics to carry arms, and to live in every respect as laics ; they had wives and concubines ; and, as their prelates gave them the example (for not only the above-named Robert of Rouen, but his successor also, Mauger, lived in open matrimony), the priests of the country and the canons entered without remorse

into the same state. About the same time, 1034, Oscaud, bishop of Quimper in Bretagne, espoused a wife, and in the neighbouring diocese of Mans, Siegfried, who had purchased his see by the cession of some domains, lived publicly in a state of concubinage.

Attempts were now made to secure benefices as inheritances in families: bishops gave manors of their dioceses as dowers to their children; and with these scandals, simony, which now began to spread universally, was in close connexion. Dukes and counts made public traffic of the bishoprics and abbeys within their territories: they squandered them upon their relatives, or sold them to the highest bidders. The evil went so far, that a bishopric was once sold whilst the bishop was still alive; another was bequeathed by a nobleman to his wife. Next to simony, and the incontinency of the clergy, the greatest and most oppressive evil was the entire lawlessness and rapacious anarchy, the war of all against all, which the bishops sought to remedy by the truce of God. Of eighteen synods which were held in France during the course of the eleventh century, almost every one engaged itself in devising means to arrest these three great evils of the times.

Notwithstanding these horrors, which were great impediments to learning, the schools of the cathedrals continued to flourish, and the cloister-schools were multiplied, in consequence of the reform introduced into many of the religious houses. The reformed abbeys were the most noble and the most vigorous members of the then emaciated body of the French Church: they were the seminaries in which were formed the best of its bishops. Now were seen the good effects of the immediate subjection of these monasteries to the see of Rome; for by this they were defended against the devastations of the temporal barons. In the tenth century there are but few names which form the chain by which the tradition of ecclesiastical learning is conveyed to us: Remigius of Auxerre, Hurbald of St. Amand, the celebrated Gerbert, abbot of Fleury, and Fulbert of Chartres. The last-named lived also in the eleventh

century, and under his direction the school of Chartres was the most flourishing episcopal seminary in France. The school of Rheims preserved its primitive fame under the scholars of Gerbert, and that of Tours was frequented by many students under the well-known Berengarius. Distinguished cloister-schools existed in the abbey of Marmoutiers, which had been reformed by St. Majolus of Cluny, and in the abbey of St. Benignus at Dijon, after the abbot William (who died in 1031) had introduced into it a reformation of Cluny. The best schools of Normandy were in the abbey of Feram, which was restored in the year 1001, and about the end of the period, in the abbey of Bec, in which Lanfranc, the most learned theologian of his age, and after him, his more celebrated pupil, Anselm, directed the studies. In this abbey, so great a number of German youths were taught, that Wilberam the scholastic of Bamberg, who had himself been one of its pupils, formed hopes that learning would spread from it into his native land. Amongst other distinguished men, pope Alexander II, Guilmund archbishop of Antwerp, and Ivo bishop of Chartres were taught in this school. The school of Paris was now in such repute, that it drew to itself students from distant lands. St. Stanislaus bishop of Cracow, Adalbero bishop of Wurzburg, Altmann bishop of Passau, and Gebhard archbishop of Salzburg, were amongst its scholars.

A long hierarchical contest, which sprung from national distinctions and from political relations, disturbed the peace of the Church in the west of France. As early as the fifth century, the bishops of Bretagne, particularly the bishops of Dol, had endeavoured to withdraw themselves from the metropolitan jurisdiction of the archbishops of Tours. In 566, a synod at Tours passed decrees against them: and the entire subjection of Bretagne to the power of France brought with it the restoration of the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of the Church of Tours. But about the year 847, Nominoé, a chieftain of Bretagne, who wished to free his native land from the ecclesiastical as well as the political

dominion of France, and to gain the crown for himself, renewed the separation. His first endeavour was to remove the bishops who might oppose his undertaking: he accused them of simony, and sent them to Rome to be judged by the pope. But when, contrary to his expectations, no sentence of condemnation was passed, he called a synod at Coetlou near Vannes: he induced the accused bishops—they were the bishops of Vannes, Quimper, Laon, and Dol—by menaces of death, to declare themselves guilty; he then placed in their sees men devoted to himself; he founded two new bishoprics at Treguier and St. Brieu, and raised the Church of Dol to the rank of a metropolitan. He next declared Actard bishop of Nantes deposed, without a trial, and then caused himself to be crowned king by his bishops. Actard was restored after the death of Nominoé, and Solomon, the succeeding king, who endeavoured in vain to obtain from the pope the pallium for the bishop of Dol, through respect for the desire of the pontiff, reinstated the banished bishops of Laon and Quimper in their churches. His attempt to restore the bishops who had been last exiled by Nominoé was the cause of a conspiracy which deprived him of life. The bishops of Dol renewed from time to time their pretensions to metropolitan jurisdiction. Gregory VII seems to have supported them, for he sent the pallium to Even bishop of that see; but he finally left the decision of this question to the judgment of a synod at Xaintes, which, in 1080, had decreed that the bishops of Bretagne were to be subject to the metropolitan of Tours; but this tedious question occupied more than a century before it was definitively concluded.

SECTION II.

THE CHURCH OF GERMANY, FROM 888 TO 1073.*

AT the decline of the French monarchy, after the deposition and death of Charles the Fat, in 888, the five nations of the East Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Thuringians, and Saxons, formed the German kingdom. To these were added, in the south-east, the marquisate of Carinthia, which was sometimes united with Bavaria and sometimes separated from it; in the west, Lorraine, which was now attached to Germany and now to France; and, after the year 1022, the kingdom of Burgundy. The chief church in all Germany was, and continued to be, after the time of St. Boniface, the church of Mentz. Its suffragan churches were, first, Strasburg, Worms, Spire, Constance, Chur, Augsburg, Eichstadt, and Wurzburg: this number was raised to twelve, when the Saxon bishoprics, Paderborn, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, and Verden were added to it. Cologne, which had been appointed one of the suffragan churches of Mentz by Boniface, was acknowledged as a metropolitan in the eighth century, and counted as its suffragan churches the bishoprics of Luttich (formerly Tongers, and since the year 708, Maestricht), Utrecht, Munster, Minden, and Osnaburg. The metropolitan province of Treves had been formed from early times of the three churches of Lorraine, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The Bavarian bishops of Saben (called since the tenth century Brixen), Freysing, Ratisbon, Passau, honoured the church of Salzburg as their metropolitan, after the year 798. To the archbishopric of Magdeburg, which was

* Regino, Dithmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Lambert of Aschaffenburg; Wittichindi Mon. Corbej. Annales (to 957) in Meibom, SS. Rerum Germ., tom. i.; Adelboldi, Vita Henrici II, in Leibnitz SS. Brunsvic. tom. i.; Wipponis, Vita Conradi Salici, in Pistorius, tom. iii.

Sigismund. Calles, Annales Ecclesiastici Germaniæ, tom. iv. v.

founded in the year 968, the bishops of Zeiss (known since the year 1029 by the name of Naumburg), Mirseburg, Meissen, Havelberg, and Brandenburg, were subjected. The archiepiscopal see of Bremen and Hamburg had under it the bishopric of Aldenburg (since called Lubec), which was founded in 952, and from which, in 1052, the two bishoprics of Mecklenburg (afterwards named Schwerin) and Rasseburg were formed. With the inheritance of Burgundy, the metropolitan church of Besançon, with its suffragans Basil and Lausanne, of which the former had belonged to Germany since the year 888, and the archiepiscopal churches of Lyons and of Arles, were added to the kingdom of Germany.

The first German synod, which was held in 894, at the royal villa of Tribur, and which consisted of twenty-two bishops, who met to restore and to confirm ecclesiastical discipline and authority, exhibits to us a close connexion between the Church and the power of the state. With the consent of king Arnulf, and of the temporal barons who were present, it was decreed that a person who had been excommunicated by a bishop, and who would not give satisfaction, should be imprisoned by the counts; that in disputes between a priest and a laic the bishop should judge; that an ordinance of a bishop should be preferred to that of the count, when they were opposed. At the request of the archbishop of Cologne, and with the consent of the pope, the rank of metropolitan was taken from the archbishop of Bremen, and a place was assigned to him amongst the bishops; but in the year 911 the former dignity was restored by Sergius III.

After the death of Arnulf, in 899, when his son Lewis, a youth of sixteen years of age, bore the name of king, the all-destroying incursions of the Hungarians commenced, and Germany, weakened and internally confused by the gradual partition of all property into feuds, by the forced transition of the defenceless land proprietors into a state of servitude, became the prey of a confusion, against which the clergy, as well as other

classes, could not defend themselves ; for they possessed not that strict unity and that unanimity of feeling which they could find only in a close adherence to their centre-point, the see of Rome. This see itself was at this time the sport of unworthy parties.* The chief prelate of Germany, Hatto archbishop of Mentz, now conducted the affairs of the kingdom, in conjunction with the duke of Saxony. It appears that to him the French duke Conrad owed his elevation to the throne after the death of Lewis. But Germany and the German Church now stood upon the brink of that gulph into which France and its Church had been plunged. Otbert bishop of Strasburg was murdered in 913 ; Einhard bishop of Spire was deprived of his see ; and Solomon bishop of Constance was held in confinement by the Swabian counts, Erchanger and Berthold. Arnulf duke of Bavaria gave away the bishoprics of his dukedom according to his own caprice. Happily, however, after the death of Conrad, in 918, the powerful and intelligent race of the Saxon dukes ascended the throne, and saved the German from the fate of the French Church. In the year 916, a synod was held at Altheim, over which a papal legate presided, for the removal of gross ecclesiastical abuses ; but the bishops of the north of Germany were not present.

Under the beneficent reign of Henry I (from 919 to 936) the German Church by degrees arose from its degradation ; only the bishoprics of Bavaria suffered under the misrule of the duke Arnulf, for Henry had conceded to him as the price of his subjection the right of presentation. He squandered their goods amongst his feudal followers. But such a right was obtained by no other of the German dukes ; and under the wise, energetic, and pious government of Otho I (939-973), who, by his victory on the Lech, arrested for ever the Hungarian incursions, the Church of Germany arose to such a height of splendour, that it far outshone the Churches of all other lands. In the beginning of the

* See page 133 et seqq.

reign of Otho, Gerhard bishop of Passau presented to pope Leo VII so dark a picture of the moral degradation and of the ecclesiastical abuses of Germany, that the pope sent him back as his legate, with full powers to restore discipline, and exhorted all the German bishops to show him obedience, and to afford him assistance in all things. But in later times, extraordinary powers of this kind appear not to have been necessary; and the legatine powers which the pope conferred upon Bruno archbishop of Cologne were exercised only for the reformation of particular monasteries. This same Bruno, the brother of the king, presided over the ecclesiastics of the court as chief chaplain, and employed himself in the education of worthy young priests, from amongst whom Otho generally selected the bishops and abbots of his kingdom; for at this time the institution to bishoprics ordinarily followed the royal nomination; and it was an exception when, at the request of Poppo bishop of Wurzburg, Otho granted to the chapter of that see the free election of their prelates. But Otho repaid the loss of free election by the conscientious prudence with which he selected the bishops. Hence the number of distinguished prelates who marked his reign. Men such as the blessed Ulrich bishop of Augsburg, and Bruno archbishop of Cologne, and at the same time duke of Lorraine, were in temporals as well as in spirituals the fathers and the guardians of the people. To Madgeburg, a see of his own foundation, Otho gave that excellent prelate the archbishop Adalbert; and Frederic archbishop of Mentz was, notwithstanding his equivocal politics, a model for his clergy. Amongst the cloisters, Corbey, which possessed the historian Wittokind, and the abbey of St. Gall, where Notker translated the Psalms into German, and where Eckehard lived, to whom Otho entrusted the education of his son Otho II, were at this time in high repute. This regular and flourishing state of the Church exercised a beneficent influence upon social life, and many cities now arose rapidly under the protection of their bishops.

A great change was introduced into the hierarchy of

the German Church, when Gerhard bishop of Passau induced the pope Leo VII to confer upon him the dignity of metropolitan of Lorch. Herold archbishop of Salzburg used every effort to avert this invasion of his right and of his diocese; and in the year 947 pope Agapite terminated the dispute between the two churches, by assigning the southern and western Pannonia to the archbishop of Salzburg, and the eastern Pannonia, with Moravia, to bishop Gerhard, who placed his see at Lorch, as the pope wished not to erect a new metropolitan, but to restore one that had before existed. But Adalbert, the successor of Gerhard, appears to have renounced his claims to the Church of Lorch, and to have contented himself with Passau. In 973, pope Benedict VI confirmed to Frederic archbishop of Salzburg the exclusive possession of the metropolitan jurisdiction in the provinces of Pannonia and Noricum, that is, in Bavaria and Austria; but when Pelegrinus bishop of Passau related to pope Benedict VII all that he had done for the propagation of Christianity amongst the Magyari, he received the pallium, as archbishop of Lorch, in the year 975.

Under the two following Othos, the son and the grandson of Otho the Great, the majority of the German bishops who were now generally chosen, consisted of men who were worthy of their high vocation. Distinguished by the union of all episcopal virtues were the holy Wolfgang of Ratisbon, Gerhard of Toul, Conrad of Constance, who had been three times to Palestine, Pelegrinus of Passau, and Bernward of Hildesheim. With Bernward, the powerful Willigis (who to the surprise and dissatisfaction of many, as he was the son of a woodman, had ascended the archiepiscopal throne of Mentz, whilst the greater number of the surrounding bishoprics were possessed by the sons of dukes and counts) contended for jurisdiction over the cloister of Gandersheim. This dispute was caused by Sophia, a sister of the emperor Otho, who would receive the veil only from the hands of an archbishop, and therefore persuaded Willigis to assume jurisdiction over this

cloister, which belonged to the diocese of Hildesheim. Whilst Bernward submitted his cause to the pope and to the emperor, Willigis procured the right over the cloister to be adjudged to him by a synod that was held at Gandersheim. A synod at Rome, however, declared for Bernward; and a papal legate, the cardinal Frederic, convened a synod at Polden, where Willigis comported himself with haughtiness, departed suddenly from the council, and drew down upon himself from the legate a sentence of suspension. In vain did the pope and the emperor call to Rome the German bishops, who then, like the temporal princes, were indignant at the long absence and estrangement of Otho from Germany. They went not. Two new synods, one at Frankfort, the other at Todi, in Italy, could lead to no decision. Otho II died, and it was not till the year 1007, that this controversy was terminated by the mediation of Henry II, when Willigis solemnly renounced his pretended right. On account of fresh pretensions of the archbishops of Mentz, another synod at Frankfort, in 1027, confirmed the jurisdiction of the bishop of Hildesheim over the long-contested cloister of Gandersheim.

Henry II, who was indebted for his victory over the pretenders to his throne principally to the bishops, performed an act of justice by the restoration of the bishopric of Merseberg. This see had been destroyed in 981, twelve years after its foundation, to satisfy the ambition of the bishop Giesler, who placed himself in the archiepiscopal see of Magdeburg, and it was for the greater part, incorporated with this latter church. Pope Gregory V, in conjunction with Otho III, had decreed the restoration of Merseburg in a synod held in Rome, in the year 998, but Gieseler contrived to delay it. After his death, in 1004, Henry raised to the see of Magdeburg Tagmo, a priest of Ratisbon; he and the bishops of Meissen and Zeiss restored those portions which had fallen to their churches; the bishopric of Merseburg was declared to be restored, and was given to the chaplain Wigbert. Of more difficult execution

was the erection of a new see at Bamberg. This design lay near to the heart of the pious king ; at the synod of Frankfort, in 1006, he did what German king had never done before. In tears, and prostrate, he cast himself before the assembled bishops until they complied with his wish, although Henry bishop of Wurzburg, to whose diocese Bamberg belonged, entered his protest against their act. But he was at length moved by the persuasions of the bishop of Halberstadt and of the archbishop of Cologne to cede his rights. Pope John XVIII confirmed the new bishopric, and in a second and more numerous synod at Frankfort, at which the Burgundian archbishops of Lyons and Tarantaise were present, the deed of erection was subscribed by all the bishops, and Eberhard of Willigis, the royal chaplain, was consecrated its first bishop.

Henry, from a sense of religion and from the conviction that the bishops were the chief supports of his throne, gave his fullest confidence to the clergy ; bishops and abbots were his constant companions and counselors ; they were placed at the head of his armies, and their services were compensated by presents and the grants of privileges. He was the first who granted entire townships to bishops, doubtless, because by this grant of power he wished to place the spiritual princes on a level with the temporal barons, many of whom were alienated from him and had shown signs of rebellion. But it was not from royal munificence alone that the riches of the German Church sprung. The kings were accustomed to give to the poorer churches bishops of rich families, who generally brought with them great wealth to their sees. Thus Henry named the wealthy Meinwerk, bishop of the then indigent church of Paderborn ; Ansfred, when made bishop of Utrecht, bestowed upon it five rich provinces ; and Balderich II, bishop of Liege, gave to his church the countship of Loos. The cathedral school of Liege, which flourished under the excellent bishop Notker (who in erecting and in endowing churches performed works that appear incredible), was the seminary of bishops for all Germany.

If Henry were sometimes capricious in his nominations to bishoprics, and often without need annulled elections which had been made, he never permitted himself to elevate to a bishopric one unworthy of that high station ; and it is undeniable that the German prelacy was at this period distinguished by its number of zealous and virtuous prelates, such as Libentius of Bremen, Rethar and Meinwerk of Paderborn, Adalbero of Metz, Eido of Meissen, St. Wolbodo of Liege, Burchard of Worms, Dithmar of Merseburg, the best of all German historians who flourished before Lambert. The greater synods were not frequently assembled after the middle of the tenth century, for the diets with which they had been generally united were now seldom convoked, and ceased altogether under Henry. The synods, when they were assembled, had generally some particular object proposed, such as the founding of the see of Bamberg, the illegal marriage of a prince, or the decision of controversies on episcopal jurisdiction. Under Henry, the synod of Seligenstadt, in 1022, was the only one that appears to have been engaged on general ecclesiastical subjects. Diocesan synods were indeed more frequent, and their order has been described by Burchard bishop of Worms.

When, at the death of Henry II, the royal race of Saxony became extinct, the wisdom and the unanimity of the bishops preserved the kingdom, which was already divided by the dukes, from the anarchy and civil war into which it would have been inevitably cast by the ambition and self-interest of the temporal barons. By the exertions of the bishops the election of that most worthy man, the French duke Conrad, was effected without opposition. The fame of Conrad is sullied, indeed, by simony, to which the want of money, springing from the poverty of his inheritance, conducted him. To an ecclesiastic named Waldrich, he bartered the bishopric of Basil for a large sum of gold ; and in the same manner Reginald, a priest of Cologne, obtained from him the bishopric of Liege. But after three years the conscience of Reginald awakened him ; he journeyed to

Rome, and laid his crosier at the feet of the pope, but was restored to his see, upon condition of bestowing abundant alms, and of founding a religious house. Some time after, Conrad himself made a vow never again to stain himself with simony, and if he did not strictly observe his promise, it is nevertheless true, that only men of high worth were placed in the German sees. We might mention Poppo abbot of Stablo, upon whom Conrad forced the bishopric of Strasburg almost with violence; Reginbald bishop of Spire, the celebrated Bruno bishop of Wurzburg, St. Bardo archbishop of Mentz, who was so famed as abbot of Herzfeld, that on his account the ancient right enjoyed by the cloister of Fulda, of giving to the see of Mentz every alternate archbishop, was interrupted. There flourished also in the time of Conrad, St. Godehard bishop of Hildersheim, who had been nominated by Henry II, famed for his gift of prophecy, and for the exemplary virtues which distinguished his cathedral school; and Unwan of Bremen, the zealous apostle of the Christian faith in the Scandinavian north, the friend of northern kings and Slavonian princes.

Henry III (1038-1056) is to be compared to Charlemagne in this respect, that his interference with ecclesiastical affairs, which was necessary from the exigencies of the times, whilst it was exercised with greater wisdom and greater purity of intention, was advantageous in its effects, and has left upon his memory the benediction of his own and of later ages. The preservation of ecclesiastical continency and the improvement of ecclesiastical virtues in Germany lay nearest to his heart. Mindful of the fault of his father, he warned the bishops against simony, which from time to time again appeared, which he viewed as the most dangerous of all evils; and St. Peter Damian bears this testimony to him, that after God, he was the means of destroying the heads of this terrible hydra. In the nomination to bishoprics he excelled his predecessors; and with justice did he select the men whom he placed on the papal throne from his own episcopacy, at that time the most

excellent in the Church. Distinguished above all others was the school of Eichstadt, which almost at the same time gave to Rome the pontiff Victor II, to Acquileia the patriarch Gotebald, to Ravenna the archbishop Gebehard, and in the course of the century bishops to six Italian and to three German churches. Luitpold archbishop of Mentz, was an ornament of the German prelacy, and a contemporary writer* places him and the emperor together as the two great lights of the Church, whom God took too soon away, and after whose death the decline of religion, of justice, of education and morality, suddenly appeared.

As soon as Henry, by the happy termination of the schism,† had restored to the apostolic see its ancient dignity and strength, Rome regained its due influence in the ecclesiastical relations of Germany. The excellent bishop Wazo of Liege, justly distinguished the different relations in which the German prelates stood with regard to him and to the pope; "To the pope we owe obedience and to you fidelity." In 1049, Leo IX passed from France into Germany, and held a synod at Mentz in presence of the emperor and of forty bishops, in which were passed decrees similar to those that had been framed at Rheims. The holy pope gave an example of forbearance and moderation, when being on another occasion in Germany, he pardoned at Worms a deacon of Mentz, whom he had before deposed on account of his disobedience, and whom he now restored at the intercession of the archbishop Luitpold. In cases of simony, he and his successors were alike inexorable. This evil, the source of almost all other ecclesiastical abuses, attained, after the too early death of Henry III, a frightful height. During the long minority of his son, the worthy prelates, who had been raised to their sees in his reign and in that of his predecessor, followed each other to the tomb, and other men forced themselves into their places by intrigue, by court favour, and by corruption. Soon was the German Church dis-

* Gozechini, *Epistola apud Mabillon Analect.* p. 444.

† See p. 145.

figured by scandals and by crimes of many kinds. Even Anno, the pious archbishop of Cologne, abused his power by forcing upon the church of Treves his nephew Cuno as archbishop, an act which was followed by the cruel murder of the young prelate. Hozilo bishop of Hildesheim, during a miserable contest for precedence, in 1063, converted the church of Goslar into a battle-scene and was himself the cause of bloodshed. An inexperienced youth, Henry, was now bishop of Spire ; his title to this elevation was that he had been a play-fellow of his royal master ; Hermann, vice-major-domo of Mentz, obtained the bishopric of Bamberg at a price paid by his relatives ; Rudbert abbot of Bamberg purchased for himself, from the courtiers of Henry, the abbey of Reichenau. Even the schism of Cadolous, which sprung from German pride and Lombard corruption, was promoted and favoured, as St. Peter Damian, in 1067, complained, by the courtiers and counsellors of Henry. A most baneful influence was exercised by Adalbert archbishop of Bremen, who had won the favour of the young king, and employed it without conscience for his own interest and for the interest of others. This, in many respects meritorious and learned, but vain, ambitious, and at the same time, prodigal and avaricious prelate, who wished to erect for himself a patriarchate in the north, and who had before disposed of bishoprics according to his caprice, united himself with the count Wernha, another favourite of the king, and carried on with him a shameless commerce in bishoprics and abbeys. The property of abbeys they declared to be royal goods, of which the king could dispose at his pleasure, and hence the most celebrated and the richest cloisters, Selingenstadt, Corbey, Kempten, Altaich, Malmedy, Stablo, Lauresheim, were given as a prey to temporal and ecclesiastical princes, to purchase their favour or to ensure their silence. It was an act of clemency, if from other cloisters only partial possessions were taken. The consequence was, that whilst in France, the cloisters, which were the best seminaries for the clergy and schools of education, were reformed,

ennobled, and multiplied, those in Germany became schools of disorder, or were entirely destroyed. An attempt of Anno to reform the monastery of Saalfeld, by the introduction of foreign monks, created such an excitement in the neighbouring cloisters, that the monks abandoned them in crowds. The state of the secular clergy was no better. The unworthy bishops who had now intruded themselves into the different sees, carried their ideas further in the practice of that simony, by which they had obtained their churches. In the year 1070, the pope Alexander II employed against them this bitter reproach, that they gave ordination for money, and that they ordained those who could pay, without any reference to their morality or capacity.

Thus a multitude of rude, ignorant, conscienceless men found their way into the ranks of the German clergy. They looked upon and treated their state as a trade, and consequently felt neither the vocation nor the inclination to practise that continency which was required by the Church. The bishops, engaged in worldly affairs, in the affairs of the state, and in projects of aggrandisement, either deficient themselves in moral virtue, or too timid to engage in a laborious and wide-spreading contest, suffered the evil to grow unimpeded, so that towards the close of the period, the greater part of the secular clergy was either married or living in a state of scandalous concubinage. Still it is difficult to determine when clerogamy first commenced in Germany. St. Boniface found married clergy in Germany, whom he endeavoured to lead to a life of continency, or to remove from their stations. Under the first Carlovings, ecclesiastical authority was powerful enough to enforce ecclesiastical laws, and the introduction or restoration of the canonical mode of life lightened the burden of the bishops on this point. By this method of life the temptation to marriage was removed from the most influential part of the clergy, and the example of so many monks who lived in their cloisters, in edifying continency, must have worked powerfully on the clergy of the country. But towards the close of the

ninth century, a time of universal confusion, the bands of ecclesiastical discipline also began to relax. Leo VII, in his epistle to the German bishops, written in 937, referred them to the ancient laws of the Church against the marriage of priests, and against their living in the same dwelling with females. The synod of Augsburg, in 950, saw itself necessitated to renew the law, which deposed priests who had married, and which obliged those who had been married before their ordination to live separate from their wives. From that period to the middle of the following century, the subject is no more mentioned. A letter, said to have been written by St. Ulrich bishop of Augsburg to a pope Nicholas in favour of the marriage of ecclesiastics, is a puerile fiction, put into circulation by the married priests of the eleventh century. In 1049, another decree against clerogamy was published by the synod of Mentz, but it appears to have produced no effect, and the evil soon became so general, that means to arrest it, other than the repetition of former decrees, were found necessary. The chief seat of the evil, and at the same time the greatest impediment to its remedy, were amongst the clergy of the nobility, the chaplains and castle-priests of the barons, by whom as they received from them their ecclesiastical fiefs, they were treated as vassals: under the protection of their patrons and feudal lords, they were almost independent of episcopal jurisdiction, and were void, in their ignorance and barbarism, of all sense of the dignity and duties of their state. These men took to themselves wives as it pleased them, or lived in concubinage: their example worked the more easily on the other clergy, as the cloisters had then greatly degenerated, and the canons of the many destroyed cathedral and collegiate foundations, not unwillingly cast away with the other duties of their institute, the obligation also of continency.

Hence it will be seen, that at the close of this period the Church of Germany presented a knot difficult to be unravelled, of licentiousness, of abuses, of corruption, and of the desecration of all that was most sacred.

The attempt to disentangle it, or rather to cleave it in twain, with the sword of energetic and searching remedies, must have produced a mighty commotion in every department of ecclesiastical and civil life, and was the origin of that conflict, to the issue of which no human eye could penetrate.

SECTION III.

THE CHURCH IN ITALY.—THE PATARIA.*

THE state of the Church in upper and central Italy during the last years of the Lombard dominion is veiled in darkness ; but from their names we learn, that the higher clergy, after the time of Luitprand, were chiefly Lombards. From the time of the destruction of Arianism, a deep feeling of religion prevailed through the nation. Churches and cloisters, were built in great numbers, and were richly endowed. Anselm, duke of Friuli and cousin of king Aistulf, was the founder and the first abbot of the famed abbey of Nonantula, in the province of Modena, and had in different cloisters one thousand one hundred and forty-four religious men under his direction. Luitprand, who took the title of Catholic King, in his laws confirmed decrees of synods, and favoured the erection of pious establishments, principally hospitals ; but towards the close of the Lombard power this flourishing condition of the Church declined ; and the historian of the nation, Paul Warnefried, laments that, in his time, the once-honoured church of

* Altonis, Ep. Vercellensis, *De Pressuris Ecclesiasticis*. libri iii, in ej. opp. ed. Com. de Buronzo, Venet. 1768, fol.; Ratherii, Ep. Veronensis, opp. curant, P. et Hier. Balleriniis, Veronæ, 1765, fol.; Arnulphi Mediolanens. *Gesta Mediolanensium* ; Landulphi Senioris, *Historia Mediolanensis* in Muratori *Ser. Rer. Ital.* tom. iv.; Bonizonis Sutriens, episcop. liber ad Anicium, in Oefeli script. rerum Boicar, tom. ii.; B. Andreæ Vita S. Arialdi et Landulphi (?) Vita S. Arialdi, in Puricelli de SS. martyribus Arialdi et Herlembaldo, Mediolan. 1657, fol.; Petri Daniani epistolarum, libri viii, ed. Caetani. Paris, 1610, 4.

St. John at Monza stood almost abandoned, and was in the possession of incontinent and simoniacal priests. Another proof of this state of the Church may be found in the history of a monk in the country of Brescia, who, in the year 790, announced to the people, that on account of the sins of the monks, the end of the world was nigh. In his capacity of prophet he collected a multitude of followers, whom he divided into troops, called by him angels, under the direction of others, whom he named archangels. He then proceeded to acts of cruelty, particularly against the monks, until he was seized and executed at Brescia.*

Under the dominion of the Franks, the Italian churches acquired the same rights that were enjoyed by the churches in the other parts of the empire. The bishops became more wealthy and more powerful : by the immunity of their property they received many possessions which were placed under their protection : in the assemblies of the state they obtained the first places ; they co-operated, and often definitively, in all state affairs. By degrees they obtained temporal power over their episcopal cities. The first who acquired this dominion was Nothing bishop of Brescia, who, in 851, was named by the emperor count of that city : not all, but only some, of his successors obtained this right of countship. Many other bishops possessed at least this right, that without their consent no royal officer could sit in judgment in their cities. The Carlovingian kings enlarged by various means the power of the Church throughout Italy. Under the kings Lewis I, Bernard, and Lothaire, Adelhard abbot of Corbey and his brother the monk Wala possessed almost entire the government of the state. In the absence of the kings they were the administrators of the government. The royal ambassadors were generally bishops or abbots ; and when the king held his *placitum*, bishops and priests formed the majority of its members. Hence it was that during the government of the Carlovingians the

* Ridolfi Notarii historia rerum Brix. p. 17.

property of churches and of cloisters was seldom alienated, and that the abuse of giving abbeys to lay abbots was of rare occurrence. Two national synods, which were held at Pavia in 850 and 855, formed a series of canons directed to the improvement of ecclesiastical discipline.

The Italian prelacy was at this time most closely united with the papal see, and thus it acquired greater strength and a confirmed influence: only the archbishops of Ravenna renewed from time to time their opposition to Rome. As early as the year 708 the archbishop Felix, at the time of his consecration at Rome, by a protest similar to that contained in the *liber diurnus*, refused to bind himself to obedience to the Roman see; but he submitted after his return from his Grecian imprisonment. New contests arose when Sergius, a married layman, was raised to the archbishopric, in the year 750. The pope Stephen II called him to Rome, and threatened him with deprivation; but he justified himself, by the declaration that his wife had been a deaconess, and that the former pope was acquainted with his state when he gave him consecration. Now followed the grant of the exarchate, the source of new discords. The archbishop Leo opposed himself with all his power to the dominion of the popes over the cities of the exarchate. He journeyed to the court of Charlemagne, and at his return asserted that the king had subjected these cities to him: so far did he carry his pretensions, that only the Pentapolis, from Rimini to Gubbio, remained to the pope; the other cities obeyed Leo. Pope Adrian appealed more than once to Charles, but the issue of the controversy is unknown. It appears indeed to have been the policy of Charles not to oppose himself earnestly to the pretensions of the archbishop, as the temporal power of the pope, even without the possession of the exarchate, appeared to him sufficiently great. The powerful archbishop John (850-878) carried to extremes his opposition against the popes; and it appears that the archbishops of Ravenna again obtained possession of

the exarchate. His evil deeds extended themselves even to the inhabitants of the Pentapolis: he imposed tributes upon the bishops of that province, and took from them their parish churches and cloisters. Three times, but in vain, the pope summoned him to Rome, to answer for his actions before a synod: the pope Nicholas, at the request of the inhabitants of Ravenna, visited that city, and restored to the rightful owners all the property that had been seized by John or by his brother. But when the emperor would no longer defend him against the pope, the archbishop was compelled to appear before a synod at Rome, to sign a deed of submission, and to promise that he would visit Rome every year; that he would arbitrarily depose no bishop in the exarchate, and would abstain from all deeds of oppression and confiscation. But notwithstanding these declarations, he again rebelled: he accused the pope to the emperor, and made common cause with the Lotharingian bishops, Gunther and Thietgaud, who had been judged by the pope. But this new attempt of the archbishop produced no lasting effect; his successors returned to the ordinary relations of subjection to the Roman pontiff.

From the schism of the Istrian bishops during the controversy on the *three articles*, there arose in the north-east of Italy a twofold patriarchate, at Aquileia and at Grado: for the Catholics opposed to the schismatical bishop of Aquileia, who took the title of patriarch, the bishop of Grado, with the same patriarchal title. At the close of the schism, the patriarch of Aquileia, supported by the Lombard king Desiderius, endeavoured, in 771, to recover the ancient authority of his see, and to deprive the bishop of Grado of his suffragan bishoprics in Istria. The doge of Venice and the patriarch of Grado appealed to the pope against the violence of Desiderius; and the answer of Adrian determined the bishops again to subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Grado, and the more as Charlemagne had in the meantime taken possession of Istria. But at a synod held at Mantua in 827, Maxen-

tius the patriarch of Aquileia obtained his end. Delegates of the Istrians complained before the synod that their bishops, who had already taken the oath of fealty to the kings of Italy, were compelled, when they went to Grado to receive consecration, to take the same oath to the government of Venice. The synod therefore decreed that the bishops of Istria should henceforth be ordained by the patriarch of Aquileia. It was in vain that Venerius of Grado appealed to the pontiffs Eugene II and Gregory IV: they confirmed the resolution of the synod. Leo VIII, about the year 980, granted to both patriarchs a superiority over all the metropolitans of Italy; and in 1050 Leo IX traced the boundaries of each patriarchate. Grado was to be the metropolitan church of Venice and of Istria: the patriarchate of Aquileia was confined to the bishoprics of Lombardy.

During the eighth century *ecclesiastical studies* were neglected in Italy, even more than in the west of France. The pontiff Adrian and Paulinus of Aquileia formed exceptions to this general neglect. In the following century, Lothaire required that schools for the higher classes should be opened in many cities of Italy; and pope Eugene II decreed, in a synod held in Rome in 826, that every cathedral should possess a school for the interpretation of the holy Scriptures, and that schools should be established in every parish. But, notwithstanding these attempts to restore literature, Italy stood far behind France, and even behind Germany, in ecclesiastical learning. Claudius of Turin, who acquired his knowledge not indeed in Italy, Andreas, Agnellus the historian of the archbishops of Ravenna, Anastasius Bibliothecarius the collector of the lives of the popes, Joannes Diaconus the biographer of the archbishops of Naples; later in the tenth century, Atto of Vercelli, Ratherius of Verona, Luitprand of Cremona, the satirical and bitter historian of his time,—these are almost the only names of distinguished men which Italy during this period can present.

After the decline of the Carolingian dynasty, Italy

offers to our view a picture of discord, of the dissolution of all social bonds, of dark immorality, and of misery, compared with which, even the contemporary state of France is tolerable. In the south, given as a prey to the hirelings of Greece and to the Saracens, in the north to the predatory inroads of the Magyari, who were called in by the heads of contending parties, torn by the wild and endless contests of rivals for the crown, and by a series of private conflicts, the country appeared to have been surrendered to the dominion of barbarism. But, happily, the bishops, who were sometimes carried away in the whirlwind of unholy confusion, possessed power and influence enough to protect at least a part of the poorer and weaker classes of the people against the tyranny of faction: by the weight which they cast into the balance of the royal assemblies, they were able to preserve a portion of public order, of government, and of right. But even this last barrier began to fail, when the chiefs of the factions seized upon the bishoprics, and filled them with their own creatures. This was done by king Hugo (925-946), and after him by Berengarius: the principal churches were given to foreign sycophants, or to the illegitimate children of the king; sometimes they were given away in such a manner, that the king received the greater part of their revenues. Under such a protection, Manasses bishop of Arles was enabled to appropriate to himself five bishoprics, by seizing Verona, Mantua, Trent, and, lastly, Milan. Hugo gave away cloisters to his wives, to his feudal dependants, and to his spies. Thus broke in upon Italy that confusion and anarchy which Atto of Vercelli has painted in his book on the "Sufferings of the Church," and which have been more fully described in the writings of the ill-treated Rathe-rius, who was cast to and fro between Liege and Verona, and who passed the greater part of his life in prison or in exile. Freedom of election was lost; riches, consanguinity, or political services were almost the only paths that led to bishoprics: after the death or the expulsion of a bishop, the property of his church was

plundered, and his see was given to the highest bidder, sometimes to a boy. The contempt of the laws of the Church was almost universal amongst ecclesiastics and laics, amongst bishops and priests. Laics no longer trembled at a sentence of excommunication, as they well knew that they who fulminated it had, by the canons, already incurred a like censure. Bishop Ratherius, in whose diocese many of the clergy were ignorant of the Apostles' Creed, had to contend for nearly every one of his episcopal rights with his priests, who were willing to except in his favour only the power of ordination. Hence may we conclude that his assertion, that it was almost impossible, in his time, to find a man worthy to be raised to the episcopacy, can scarcely be thought exaggerated.

It is natural to suppose that such a clergy was either married or living in concubinage. They proclaimed, that for the prevention of sin it was necessary for them to have wives: the inferior clerics and rural priests asserted the same necessity, as by the labour of their wives they were in part supported. Attempts were made, indeed, to arrest this evil, and the bishop of Verona (Ratherius) appealed to the decrees of a synod of Ravenna, to an imperial ordinance, and to a papal legation, by which the celibacy of the clergy was to be enforced: a law of Otho II excluded from all public employments the sons of deacons, priests, and bishops. But it was long before effectual remedies were applied.

The Othos saved and exalted the Italian episcopacy, by placing in the different sees Germans, or men devoted to them, but always worthy of their charge. These prelates, by their constant endeavours to recover, to preserve, or to increase the goods of their churches, by their unceasing conflicts with hostile nobles or factions, with their own vassals, or with the gradually strengthening corporations of cities, could do but little for the restoration of fallen discipline and for the reform of their clergy; but this they effected, that in the commencement of the eleventh century the episcopacy was the first and the deciding power in all affairs of state.

For the material foundation of the Church possessed within itself parts that were imperishable : frequently, as the best possessions of bishoprics and of abbeys were torn from them, these parts strove, as from a natural impulse, to return to them again. The right of churches fell not easily into oblivion, and defied all prescription ; often did repentance on the bed of death restore to the Church its alienated goods, and as the possessions of the temporal nobles were often confined to their own persons, and seldom, in these times of confusion and conflict of the vassals, amongst themselves and against the regal power, descended to the third generation, the bishops, who by their rank were less exposed to personal misfortunes, and whose personal destinies had less influence on ecclesiastical property, which was only entrusted to their administration, could easily increase this property, or collect it together when scattered. In Italy, moreover, the kings freely granted to the bishops that which they refused to the nobles, or of which they deprived them after any insurrection—the right of coining money, taxes, and other regalia. The bishops had before acquired dominion in the cities in which they held their sees, and in the time of Henry II they acquired entire countships. Thus the bishop of Parma first gained possession of power in the city of Parma, and afterwards, in the tenth century, acquired dominion over the district, extending through a circuit of three miles round the city : finally, in 1035, after the death of the count, who left no male issue, Conrad II gave to the bishop power over all the castles of the Parmesan territory, that is, he conferred upon him the entire countship.* It is true that at this time all the bishops, the learned and the pious no less than the worldly-minded and the ignorant, were animated with the desire of gain, to increase the possessions of their churches, and thereby their own personal power ; but with the exception of the imperious and boundless extortions of which individual prelates, such as Heribert

* Affo, *Storia di Parma*, ii. 13.

of Milan, were guilty, it was not in general avarice or ambition that awakened within them this desire, but necessity, and the instinct of self-preservation. For in the impotency of the public power, extensive possessions of lands required a multitude of vassals and of followers as the necessary condition of personal existence and of certain influence: without these broad material foundations the bishops would have been in a state of continual and oppressive dependence, if not of slavery; they would have been subservient instruments in the hands of the temporal nobles, who would have employed their sacred office for the furtherance of their own interested views. In these times, when the feudal system had been carried to its height, the prevailing principle which put all things in motion, was, not an attempt to obtain legitimate freedom and independence, an equality of rights and an unimpeded development of spiritual and material powers, but an endeavour to reduce others into subjection, and to raise upon the ruins of the freedom and independence of other men a kingdom composed of vassals and adherents. The Church had, therefore, to wage a twofold conflict: first, it had to free itself from the chains in which dukes, counts, and other nobles, by the power and the forms which feudal law administered to them, sought to enslave it: herein the Church had the kings for its confederates. But when its former protectors and allies, the kings, contrary to their legitimate authority, endeavoured to subject the Church to their own power, and to make it serve their own political designs, and even their caprices, then was the Church compelled to enter the lists in this second and more difficult combat for its own emancipation. The first conflict was during the last three centuries of the present period, the second belongs to the following.

Whilst in Italy the powerful princely families on the other side of the Ader fell away, and their possessions were divided, so that in the beginning of the eleventh century, only the margraves of Tuscany, Ivrea, and Verona, were left with power; the bishops had so far

strengthened and increased their power, that the Italian kingdom had well nigh become an ecclesiastical aristocracy. When Adelbold, the biographer of Henry II, enumerates the princes who called into Italy the German king, he names one temporal prince, the Margrave of Tuscany, and ten ecclesiastical, two archbishops and eight bishops. What treatment they had to expect from native successors to the crown, preceding centuries have shown, and it had been proved but recently by the rival of Henry, the rude Arduin, margrave of Ivrea, who caused Peter bishop of Vercelli to be murdered, and had himself laid violent hands on the bishop of Brescia. The bishops therefore unanimously determined in favour of Henry, and were the chief supports of the German government in Italy. Hence, when in 1026, some temporal nobles who wished to exclude Conrad II, offered the Italian crown to William duke of Aquitaine, they added to their offer this condition, that he should depose the bishops, and appoint others to be named by them. The most powerful prince in the north of Italy at this time was the ambitious, artful, and imperious archbishop Heribert, who ruled not only the populous city of Milan, but also the neighbouring cities of Lombardy. To him, Conrad, as he was indebted to him for the undisturbed possession of the crown, gave all the feudal rights over the bishopric of Lodi, with the right also of investing the bishop. These rights he forced upon the unwilling inhabitants of Lodi by a war of desolation. At the same time he was involved in a bloody warfare with the Valvassori, or the inferior feudal inhabitants of the cities who revolted against him, and opposed to him a powerful confederation, called the *Molta*. The origin of this war was his desire to take from them their feudal possessions, which they wished to be considered as their own inalienable property. The emperor unwilling to favour these proceedings of the archbishop, caused him and the bishops of Vercelli, Piacenza, and Cremona, who were united with him, to be apprehended and imprisoned at Pavia, in 1036. Conrad then named a new archbishop of

Milan. But this proceeding gave offence even to the most devoted adherents of the emperor in Germany. Heribert, who soon escaped from his captivity, effected a reconciliation with Henry III, after the death of his father Conrad, in 1039.

From the political contests in which the power of the Church and the energies of its bishops had been exhausted, we must now turn to the religious relations, which from this time arose with power and even against the will of the chiefs in the Church, which created a commotion and an ebullition in the minds of the people, which confounds all the calculations of human policy, of base self-interested motives and of coward servility.

The degeneracy of the clergy in Italy during the tenth century, came into existence more easily than it could be suppressed. The bishops had neither the power, the inclination, nor the leisure to engage earnestly and perseveringly in ecclesiastical reform; and if some amongst them from time to time renewed the ancient laws of the Church, they did so more with the view to meet public opinion, or in some degree to calm their consciences, than with the resolution to enforce them. The reformation indeed should have commenced with themselves. They it was who gave to their clergy the frequent example of worldly life, they who took from the churches of their dioceses, even from the parish churches, their revenues, which they afterwards expended in pomp and pride, or in enriching their relatives. The picture which contemporaries give us of the clergy in the capital of the north of Italy, may be supposed to represent, in a greater or less degree, the ecclesiastics of Lombardy in general; few of them performed the duties of their state, or lived amongst their flocks: some spent their time in the pleasures of the chase; others kept hotels or carried on traffic; nearly all had obtained their ordination by simony, and lived with wives. A synod at Pavia, in 1022, over which Benedict VIII presided, formed many canons against the incontinency of the clergy, and Henry II, in his confirmation of these canons, designated this inconti-

nency as the source of all crime and corruption. But the state of things continued the same ; and in Rome, according to the testimony of St. Peter Damian, after the Tusculan pope had by his shameful life opened the school of vice, the priests began to marry. Simony was in Milan a deeply-rooted evil ; Paschal II had, about the year 820, accused the Church of Milan, that in its ordinations were purchased by money, and after that time such appears to have been the inclination of the Milanese clergy to a schism against the see of Rome, that for two hundred years all direct influence of the pope upon the Church of Milan was interrupted. This spirit was defended by the popular pretext, that the church of St. Ambrose ought not to be degraded.

The first who combated the immorality of this clergy was Anselm da Baggio, a priest of the cathedral of Milan ; but Guido the archbishop, who was himself stained with the twofold sin of simony and incontinency, took Anselm with him into Germany, and, to remove him from Milan, procured from the king his nomination to the see of Lucca. But now two other of the Milanese clergy, Landulf Cotta and Ariald, supported by a powerful and rich citizen named Nazarus, entered upon the same path. Their daily sermons against the simoniacal and Nicholaite heresies (thus they denominated the marriage of priests), worked powerfully upon the people ; and as most of the ecclesiastics connected with the most powerful families, all who drew profit from the traffic of ecclesiastical offices, had the chieftains or greater feudal lords and the Valvassori, their relatives and their wives, at their side, there arose in Milan, and soon afterwards in the entire diocese, two parties, opposed to each other : the one powerful by rank, riches, and a community of interests, the other strong in its enthusiasm for the good cause, and in the energy of the will of the people. The adherents of Ariald and Landulf were called by their opponents by the contemptuous name of *Patarini*, or idiots : as, for the greater part, they were composed of persons of the poorer classes ; but they preserved the

name, as did in a later age the *Gueux*,* as a title of honour. Their power had become so great in 1057, that they compelled the ecclesiastics to subscribe a decree of the people for the universal restoration of clerical celibacy. The clergy, in this difficulty, had recourse to the bishops, and to the pope Stephen IX, who commissioned the archbishop Guido to decide their cause in a provincial synod. In this synod, which was held at Fontaneto, near Novara, Gregory, the iniquitous bishop of Vercelli, undertook the defence of the married clergy. Ariald and Landulf were invited to the synod; and as they refused to appear before so partial a tribunal, they were excommunicated. But at Rome, Ariald met with a favourable reception from the pope: two legates, Anselm bishop of Lucca, and Hildebrand (afterwards Gregory VII), were sent with him to Milan, where the opposition of the two parties had burst forth into a civil war. The legates exhorted those whom they found of good disposition, and condemned the absent Guido as guilty of simony. Ariald and Landulf prevailed upon the people not to receive the sacraments from the married clergy. Violence and cruelty were exercised by both parties: the nobility, who had hitherto protected the clergy, either left the city, or watched for an opportunity to take revenge. Landulf, who had been twice wounded by assassins, and Ariald, now preached against simony with the same zeal which had before animated them against the marriage of the clergy. The cardinal Peter Damian bishop of Ostia, and Anselm bishop of Lucca, appeared in Milan in 1059, whither they had been sent by the new pope Nicholas II. The party of the ecclesiastics endeavoured

* A name taken by the insurgents in the Netherlands, who, during the sixteenth century, rebelled against the Spanish government. When they had, on one occasion, forced themselves into the presence of the regent Margaret, she was seen to turn pale through fright; when the Count de Barlaimont whispered to her in French, "Let not a troop of beggars (*Gueux*) alarm you." The words were heard by some of those present, and the title given to them by the count was afterwards adopted by the rebels in one of their drinking parties. See Schiller's *Geschichte des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande*. (Transl.)

to excite against them the minds of the people: they came, it was said, to subject the hitherto free church of St. Ambrose to the yoke of the see of Rome; this disgrace was not to be endured. A tumult was the consequence; but it was soon calmed by the prudent Damian. The humbled Guido promised upon his oath to eradicate simony, to enforce with severity ecclesiastical celibacy, and subjected himself to penance. Of the other ecclesiastics, the better part, those who had lived continently, were restored, by the presentation to them of the emblems of their orders; the others were suspended, but all entered upon a course of canonical penance. In the meantime, those who were animated by a like zeal for the purity of the Church united themselves more closely together, and the Patarini grew into an extensive confederation, named the Pataria, which extended from Milan over the whole of Lombardy. The Lombard bishops, in 1059, were compelled by them to attend a synod at Rome, and Guido solemnly bound himself to show obedience to the pope; but corrupted by presents, these bishops, at their return from Rome, neglected to publish the decrees against the simonaical and Nicholaite priests. The bishop of Brescia, the only prelate who did publish them, was punished almost with death by his degenerate clergy. The discontent caused by this conduct strengthened the Pataria: in Brescia, Cremona, Piacenza, and in other cities, many persons separated themselves from the communion of the criminal clergy. The inhabitants of Pavia and of Asti would not receive the bishops who had been named for their cities by the king, because they had obtained their dignities through simony. In 1061, Arialdo, and many other clergy who had joined him, introduced into Milan the canonical mode of life in community.

Anselm da Baggio, who was the first to oppose the iniquitous lives of the Milanese clergy, now ascended the papal throne, with the name of Alexander II. But the Lombard bishops wished to have a pope who would not molest them and their clergy with inconvenient propositions of reform, and who would protect them

against the Pataria. Hence the elevation of Cadalous. In Milan, the party of Ariald obtained a powerful leader in the person of the brother of the deceased Landulf, Herlembald, who had recently returned from Jerusalem. The pope, who approved of his designs, appointed him standard-bearer of the Church. The archbishop Guido and the majority of his priests broke the promise which they had given to the legates, and relapsed into their former course of life. Herlembald went therefore to Rome, and in 1066 brought back with him a bull of excommunication against Guido; but this archbishop knew how to inflame the minds of the varying populace by his declarations that the freedom of the Ambrosian church was threatened by Rome. Rich presents did the rest; and Ariald, abandoned by his followers, was so ill-treated by the clergy, that he was left for dead. He recovered, but fell again into the hands of the creatures of the archbishop, and was most cruelly murdered by two ecclesiastics. His body was found ten months after his death, free from corruption; and people and clergy now contended with each other in their enthusiasm in giving him the honours of a martyr. Soon after, when Alexander II came to Milan, he was solemnly canonized.* Two papal legates, the cardinals Mainard and Joannes Minutus, endeavoured to restore peace in Milan, by an ordinance, which was drawn up with great prudence. In it the prohibitions of simony and of all connexion of priests with females were renewed, and the laity were at the same time forbidden to ill-treat or to plunder the clergy, under the pretext of one or other of these crimes.

In Florence also simony was the cause of a schism. The monks of Vallombrosa required of the people to separate themselves from the simoniacal bishop Peter, and to receive no sacrament from the priests whom he had ordained. Peter Damian reproved their too great precipitation, as the bishop had not yet been convicted of the crime of which he was accused; and at the same

* Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla Storia di Milano*, iv. 106 et seqq.

time he exhorted the Florentines to submit the affair to the decision of the pope. Following this advice, the monks and their friends went, in 1063, to Rome, and offered, in confirmation of their complaint, to submit to the ordeal of fire. The pope, who had convened a numerous assembly, was unwilling either to depose the bishop, whose cause was defended by nearly all the prelates present at the synod, or to admit the monks to the ordeal. Hildebrand alone espoused the cause of the monks, and was menaced with death by the duke Godfrey, in his zeal for the bishop. The monks were dismissed with the admonition to abstain from preaching against the bishop ; but in Florence the agitation still continued, nor were the monks silent. Finally, St. John Gualbert was called from his monastery to act as arbitrator ; he conjured the bishop to acknowledge his fault, and to terminate the scandal attending it ; but in vain : it was then determined to proceed to the ordeal. At the command of St. John, a simple monk named Peter, who in Vallombrosa attended the cattle, after he had offered the holy sacrifice, passed through the flames of two long fires, and, to the astonishment of all, went through uninjured. The people with one voice exclaimed that the bishop was condemned : the pope, at the representation of the Florentines, deposed him, and he entered, to pass his life in penance, into a cloister. Peter the monk, who was henceforth surnamed the Fiery (Igneus), was afterwards made abbot, and some time later was created at Rome cardinal and bishop of Albano : he died in 1087, having performed many signal services to the Church.

The Pataria in the meantime made great advances in the Lombard cities. At Cremona, twelve men bound themselves together by oath ; they were soon joined by the populace ; and now all married priests or deacons were driven from the city, and the bishop himself, who had wished to seize a priest of the Pataria, was ill-treated. An embassy to the pope brought back from Rome an epistle, in which their co-operation in the great contest which the see of Rome had commenced

was accepted. The Placentines joined the Pataria, and banished from their city their bishop Dionysius, who had been deposed by the pope. At Milan, the archbishop Guido, wearied with the protracted contest, resolved to abandon his dignity: he therefore sold it to an ecclesiastic of high birth, named Godfrey, who, with the approbation of the Lombard bishops and the Milanese chieftains, went into Germany to the king, with the episcopal ring and staff, and promised, if he should receive the investiture, to destroy the Pataria, and to lead Herlembald captive into Germany. He obtained the investiture, but Herlembald again seized his arms, and besieged Godfrey in his castle. To liberate him, the simoniacal party set fire to Milan, and consumed half the city in the flames. The Pataria then, in 1072, in presence of the papal legates, elected a new archbishop, Atto, a priest of Milan. He was seized by the opposite faction, dragged before the altar, and compelled to renounce his archiepiscopal office. But Herlembald obtained a victory over his enemies; the pope declared Atto's oath of renunciation to have been invalid, and confirmed his election as rightful archbishop of Milan. Delegates from the German king, on the contrary, announced to the Lombard bishops at Novara, that it was the will of their royal master that Godfrey should be archbishop: he was then consecrated. Neither Atto nor Godfrey could exercise the functions of their episcopacy. Atto had not been consecrated, Godfrey had not been acknowledged in Milan. Herlembald, powerful in the strength of the Pataria, was uncontrolled ruler of Milan and of the diocese: the new pope Gregory VII entered upon an epistolary correspondence with him, and showed him marks of the greatest respect. But the party of the nobles maintained an uninterrupted union with the German court, and bound themselves to disperse the Pataria, and to remove Herlembald out of the way: they rendered ineffectual the exhortations and representations by which the pope sought to induce the king to withdraw his influence from the schism. In the first synod which Gregory convoked, Guibert arch-

bishop of Ravenna uttered many bitter complaints against the Patarinians of Cremona and Piacenza, but he found an eloquent adversary in Dodo, a citizen of Cremona. About the year 1074, the Pataria began to decline in Milan. The nobles who had left the city gradually returned : the courtiers, the adherents of the nobility and the party of the clergy, drew nearer together, and allured many of the people into their interest, by appealing, with correct calculation of the effect, to their remembrance of an ancient confederacy to defend the integrity of the church of St. Ambrose. Many fell from the Pataria. A conflagration, which again consumed a great part of the city, was declared to have been sent in punishment of the sins of the Patarinians. Herlembald was slain in battle in 1075 : a priest named Leoprand, who since the death of Ariald had been the principal ecclesiastic in the Milanese Pataria, was seized, and condemned to lose his nose and ears ; all who would not abandon their party joined the Pataria of Cremona. After the death of Herlembald, the king Henry sent into Italy the count Eberhard, who had before been excommunicated by pope Alexander. The count convened a Lombard assembly on the plain of Roncaglia, thanked the Milanese who had slain Herlembald, and denounced all the Patarinians as public enemies of the king ; he then fell upon the unexpecting Placentines, whom he drove from the city, but was compelled to retire before the better-prepared Cremonese. The chieftains of Milan, in obedience to the command of the king, now elected the priest Theobald, who had sworn fidelity to Godfrey ; and the king, from whom Godfrey had received investiture, and at whose command he had been consecrated by the Lombard bishops, now invested Theobald. The rupture of Henry with the pope soon followed this event.

The condition of the whole of Italy, and of the Italian Church, from the tenth to the end of the eleventh century, was most unfavourable to theological studies. Milan, however, had two schools of philosophy, in which teachers paid by the archbishop instructed the younger

ecclesiastics. Similar schools are mentioned as existing at Parma, Bologna, and Faenza; but the studies appear not to have passed beyond the *Trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic), and the *Quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy). Lanfranc of Pavia now acquired in Italy the knowledge which he afterwards imparted to France and England. Amongst the ecclesiastical writers, Peter Damian ranks before all others. This holy man was born at Ravenna in 1007, and was educated in the severe ascetics and serious studies of the cloister at Fonte Avellana. In 1046, at the desire of the emperor Henry III, he accompanied the pope Clement II to Rome, to act as his counsellor and assistant, and took an active part in the most important affairs of the Church. Simony and the incontinency of the clergy he combated by his writings, by his journeys, and by the synods over which he presided. In 1057 he was created cardinal and bishop of Ostia; but as he wished to close his days in the cloister of his youth, he resigned his dignities in the year 1069. He was frequently called, however, from his solitude to undertake different legations, and died at Faenza in 1072. His writings, in which is visible an extensive knowledge of the Scriptures, of the fathers, and of the canons, consist of a rich collection of letters, and principally of treatises against the prevailing vices of the times, and against the corruptions of the clergy. Arnulf wrote, not without partiality for the married and simoniacal clergy, the history of Milan from 925 to 1076; but towards the end of his work he retracted these offensive opinions. He was surpassed in shameless partiality, in the same cause, by his contemporary, Landulf the Elder.

SECTION IV.

THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND.*

THE introduction of Christianity into Anglo-Saxon Britain had been so far completed at the commencement of this period, that the new religion was the dominant religion of the land in all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy. Pagans were to be found only in those places in which priests and instruction had not yet penetrated. Under Theodore archbishop of Canterbury and his immediate successors, the number of the bishoprics was increased from seven to seventeen. The bishops were originally chosen at the national synod, at which the primate presided, afterwards by the clergy of the diocese, with the intervention of the people. But by degrees the principles of the feudal system began here also to prevail: the kings reserved to themselves the confirmation of the election, and the investiture with the crosier and ring, of the prelate elect; here

* Beda, *Chronicon Anglo-Saxonicum*, ed. Ingram. Londini, 1823-4; Guilielmi Malmesburiensis, *De rebus gestis Regum Anglorum*, libri v. (to the year 1126); *De rebus gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, in Saville, *Rerum Angl. Scriptores*, Lond. 1596, fol.; Ingulphi, Abb. Croylandensis, *Descriptio Compilata* (to 1066), in Saville; Asserii Menevensis, *Annales rerum gestarum Alfredi*, Oxon. 1722; *The Lives of St. Dunstan*, by Britferth and Osbern, in the *Acta SS. Maji* iv. 344; of Osbert, in Surius, *Vitæ SS.* 309 (in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 211, under the name of Eadmer); Eadmeri, *Vita S. Oswaldi* in Wharton, tom. ii.; Wolstani, *Vita S. Ethelwaldi*, in Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B. Sæculi V.*; O'Connor, *Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum*, Buckingham, 1814-1826, 4 vols. 4to.

For Scotland, *The Chronica*, in Innes' *Critical Essay*, London, 1729, 2 vols., and in Pinkerton's *Enquiry into the Ancient History of Scotland*, London, 1789, 2 vols.; Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniæ*, Lond. 1737, fol. tom. i.

Alfordi *Annales Eccl. Britanniae*, Leodi, 1663, tom. ii. iii. fol.; Lingard, *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Newcastle, 1806, 2 vols.; Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Dublin, 1829, vol. ii. iii.

also, as in other places, the monarch began to anticipate the election by recommendation or nomination. Every bishop had at his cathedral a number of ecclesiastics who lived together according to canonical institution, and these communities served at the same time as seminaries for the education of the future clergy. For the institution of parish churches, England was indebted principally to the archbishop Theodore, who, to incite the thanes to the erection and endowment of these churches, secured to them and to their heirs the right of patronage. Tithes were introduced in an early age, for Boniface and Egbert of York make mention of them in the eighth century, as being then a tribute that had long been paid; at the synod of Calcuith, the payment of them was strictly enforced. Cloisters which had been erected in the primitive times of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, and which were rapidly multiplied, supplied in many provinces the want of parish churches. Bennet Biscop abbot of Weremouth in the north, and Aldhelm bishop of Sherburne, and Egwin bishop of Worcester in the south, were the principal promoters of the monastic institute during the seventh century. The abbeys of Evesham, Malmesbury, Weremouth, the ancient Glastonbury of the Britains—"the mother of the saints," were amongst the earliest and the most flourishing. Besides these, there soon arose others, connected with female cloisters and erected near them; of this kind were Whitby, Coldingham, and Winburn. In these double monasteries the monks could not enter the dwelling of the nuns, nor the nuns that of the monks. The monks, no less than the nuns, were subject to the abbess; she appointed their prior. The object of these double cloisters (and there is scarcely an example of a cloister of nuns distinct from a monastery of men during the seventh and eighth centuries) appears to have been to relieve the nuns from the care of administering property and other such unfeminine occupations.

The property of the Church was free by immunity from all burthens and taxes, with the exception of the *trinoda necessitas*, that is, the levies for the support of

the army, for the repairs of roads, bridges, and fortresses. By an ordinance of king Ethelwulf, in 854, the *tithe mansus* of the goods of cloisters, as well as of hereditary lay possessions, was free from all imposts. To participate in the rights and immunities that were enjoyed by monasteries, many noble laics, men and women, erected monasteries, of which they named themselves abbots and abbesses, and in which they lived with their followers and others, who had gathered around them, after the manner of the world, without order and without rule. The synod of Cloveshoe remarked, that avarice and tyranny had been the source of this disorder, but the Church was never able to suppress these nominal cloisters. They were destroyed during the devastations of the pagan Danes.

The English Church from the time of its origin stood in the closest connexion with the see of Rome. Frequently did ecclesiastics and laics journey to that city to venerate the tombs of the apostles, and to obtain the benediction of the sovereign pontiff. Eight Anglo-Saxon kings undertook this pilgrimage : others sent ambassadors with presents, that they might be made partakers of the apostolical benediction.* The English metropolitans, to obtain the confirmation of their election and to receive the pallium, were required to appear in person before the pope, that he might be convinced of their fitness for their station. This requisition was considered burdensome in England, both on account of the length and dangers of the journey, and because the gifts which these prelates were accustomed to present on these occasions, were by degrees considered obligatory. As early, therefore, as the year 801, the English bishops requested pope Leo III to send the pallium to their metropolitan, without requiring their presence in Rome. But the pope did not comply. At length, Canute the Great, when in Rome, in the year 1031, obtained from the pope, that the sum of money which had

* Kinulphi Regis Epistola ad Leonem Papam, in Wilkins Concilia, Brit. i. 164.

formerly been paid when the pallium was given, should be no longer exacted. The duty, however, of personal attendance was still continued. Religious foundations had been early placed in England, as in other countries, under the immediate protection of the head of the Church: even kings sought from the pontiff his confirmation of their grants to monasteries.

A school for the education of young Englishmen who had embraced the ecclesiastical state, was founded in Rome, in 714, by Ina, king of Wessex, who ended his life in that city. It is uncertain whether the Peter-pence (Rome-Scot), which was probably introduced by king Offa of Mercia, about the year 790, were originally intended for the maintenance of this school, or for the Church of Rome and the wants of the papal see. Every family possessing property contributed each year a silver penny, which the bishops collected annually in their dioceses, and in the time of Gregory VII this contribution amounted to more than two hundred pounds of Saxon money. It is, however, not improbable, that the kings obliged themselves to a yearly tribute of money, and that later, one of them, perhaps Ethelwulf, in 855, instituted the Peter-pence as a general tax for the payment of this sum.

Synods were often held at the desire of the pope; one of these was the synod of Cloveshoe, in 747. St. Boniface had severely reproved, in a letter to the king of Mercia, the prevailing immorality of England, and had, it is likely, given information of the same to the pope Zachary. The pontiff then commissioned the bishops to meet the most flagrant abuses by a series of canons. In the year 785, pope Adrian sent the bishops of Ostia and of Todi, as his legates, with a collection of canons for the English Church. Two synods were now held, one at Calcuith in Mercia, the other in Northumbria, and a solemn engagement was entered into by the bishops to enforce the observance of the canons sent to them by the pope. The unity of religion and of the Church must have compensated in the Anglo-Saxon states for political unity, which was but imperfectly

and weakly preserved by the Bretwalda. Had not the Church being confined and disturbed in its best works, by the endless wars and revolutions which gave to England the appearance of a general camp, it would have developed its power in the first centuries of its existence (such was the interior capability of the people, and their inclination to deep and serious piety), in the fruits of an extraordinary morality and education. Egbert's universal sway from the year 826 could produce no unity of legislation or government amongst the Anglo-Saxons, who were still divided into states and nations, and in the last years of his administration commenced the invasions of the Danes and Normans, who for seventy years, from the year 832, penetrated into every part of the island, bearing with them fire and the sword. They reduced churches and cloisters to ashes; they murdered thousands of priests and monks, and impeded all progress towards improvement.

In the seventh century, Canterbury was, and continued for some time to be, the only metropolitan church in all England. In the year 735, Egbert bishop of York, brother of the king of Northumbria, on the authority of the original ordinance of St. Gregory the Great, obtained a papal decree, by which all the bishoprics on the north of the Humber were subjected to his metropolitan jurisdiction. It was not long before Offa, the powerful king of Mercia, sought to remove the bishops of his kingdom from the jurisdiction of a foreign prelate. He effected his purpose; and the above-named synod of Calcuith, which was held in 785, under a papal legate, decreed that the church of Litchfield should be raised to an archbishopric; Aldulf bishop of Litchfield received the pallium from pope Hadrian. But when Kenulf king of Mercia had subjected to himself the kingdom of Kent, the cause of the separation from Canterbury no longer existed. Ethelhard archbishop of Canterbury went, therefore, to Rome, to induce the pontiff to take from Litchfield its newly-acquired dignity: the king also consented, and Ethelhard assembled, in 803, a synod of the twelve suffragan

bishops, at Cloveshoe, which restored to the see of Canterbury its ancient extent of jurisdiction. The English hierarchy consisted therefore of the primate of Canterbury, whose suffragan bishoprics were, Rochester in Kent, London in Essex, Dunwich and Helmham (afterwards Norwich), in East Anglia; Dorchester, Winchester, and Sherburne (afterwards Salisbury), in Wessex; Selsey (afterwards Chichester), in Sussex; Litchfield (afterwards Coventry), Hereford, Worcester, and Lincoln in Mercia; of the archbishop of York to whom Sydnacester (formerly Lindisfarne and afterwards Durham), Hexham which was destroyed in the devastations of the Danes, and Whithern (Casa Candida), the bishopric founded by Ninian for the southern Picts in Galloway, were suffragans. In the eighth century, the young English Church, in consequence of its intercourse with the Church of Ireland, acquired a pre-eminence in learning, which was felt and acknowledged on the continent. The learned Daniel bishop of Winchester was frequently consulted by St. Boniface. Aldhelm abbot of Malmesbury, afterwards bishop of Sherburne, was the first poet of his nation, both in the Anglo-Saxon and Latin language. But above all others the venerable Northumbrian Bede, the excellent historian of the English Church, the teacher of his people in his own and of succeeding centuries, merits to be here mentioned. For sixty years he studied, taught, and wrote in the united cloister of Weremouth and Yarrow. He surpassed every contemporary in his acquaintance with the science of the age; and it was with justice that the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle named him, a century after his death, the wonderful doctor of modern times. He left behind him commentaries upon nearly all the books of the holy Scriptures, drawn from the writings of the fathers. These commentaries were used for centuries, as the best and most esteemed helps to exegetical studies. He died on the evening on which he had completed his Anglo-Saxon translation of the gospel of St. John. His disciple Egbert, the son of a king,

archbishop of York, and a scholar as indefatigable as his master, educated the celebrated Alcuin, to whom the school of York was afterwards indebted for its European fame.

The epistles of Alcuin, of which admonition and severe reproof are the subjects, prove that in his time the zeal for ecclesiastical studies, as well as moral feeling, and the former intensity of devotion amongst the Anglo-Saxons, were greatly diminished. Now, too, were begun the destroying invasions of the Danes. The highly-venerated Lindisfarne was laid waste in 793, and again in 875. In Northumbria, with the destruction of the abbeys, monastic discipline fell away, and was not again fully restored until the time of William the Conqueror. The abbeys of Croyland, Medeshamstead, and Ely, met the same fate: all England was covered with ruins, and bodies of the slain. Alfred exalted and freed his people, but he could not effect the expulsion of the Danes. They received baptism, and mingled with the Anglo-Saxons, but their manners, and even their worship, continued for a long time tinged with paganism. The natives, who had become uncivilised by long wars and its attendants, anarchy and licentiousness, were sunk by their mingling with the pagans into still deeper immorality and barbarism. Alfred published a new code of laws, and endeavoured to remove the general ignorance (which had become now so prevalent, that he could find no one amongst his people who could translate a Latin letter into English), by calling to his assistance scholars from foreign lands. For this purpose, he sent in 883 a solemn embassy to Gaul, which returned, bringing with it from Corby the Saxon priest John, and from Rheims the provost Grimbold. He himself translated the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, Orosius, Boethius, the Pastoral of St. Gregory, a portion of the Psalms, and extracts from St. Augustin, into English. Plegmund archbishop of Canterbury, and Werfrith bishop of Worcester, seconded his efforts; the result of which was, to impart to the higher clergy

some degree of knowledge. As all the sources of the education of the clergy, the cloisters and canonical institutions, had been destroyed by the Danes, any one who presented himself, or who was, amongst the unworthy, the less unworthy, was ordained. Even married men were admitted to orders, and in the necessity of the Church, the bishops were not able to exact continency from them. The consequence was, the decline of ecclesiastical discipline, and, in particular, of sacerdotal celibacy. Until the year 860, marriage amongst the English clergy was unheard of, or was at least by no means common: the bishops, therefore, had no occasion to enforce celibacy by new canons. But this order of things was changed by the Danish wars. About the year 870, Fulco archbishop of Rheims, in his letter to king Alfred, expressed his expectation that Plegmund, the new archbishop, would resolutely oppose the assertion, that matrimony was permitted to priests. A synod held at London under king Edmund in 944, in its very first canons exhorted ecclesiastics to observe the duty of continency. But notwithstanding these decrees, the number of priests who lived in the married state appears to have increased. Those canons whose institutes had survived the age of destruction, or which had been recently founded, neglected the observance of their rule, together with the duty of living in community: many of them married, lived upon the rents of the lands of their prebendaries, and left the duties of the cathedral to hired vicars. That love for the monastic state which had formerly led so many kings, so many sons and daughters of kings and of nobles, into solitude, was extinguished in this almost now savage nation, and Alfred was compelled to call from France monks and youths to people the monastery which he had founded at Ethelinge. King Edgar, in 960, testifies, that under his predecessors the cloisters of monks and of nuns had been either destroyed or abandoned throughout the entire nation. Many Englishmen went into France to enter the abbey of Fleury: here Dun-

stan, Oswald, and others were educated, and from this cloister in later times came those who were the restorers of the monastic state in England.

Dunstan, the nephew of Athelm archbishop of Canterbury, was first instructed by some Irish ecclesiastics of Glastonbury. Wearied of a life in the world and at the court, he embraced the sacerdotal state, became a monk, and afterwards abbot of the above-named abbey. The prudent Turketul, who had been chancellor of England, and afterwards the restorer and abbot of Croyland, recommended Dunstan to the favour of king Edmund. The monarch conferred upon him Glastonbury and its possessions. Edred, the successor of Edmund, whose full confidence Dunstan possessed, offered to him the bishopric of Winchester, which Dunstan refused, as his presence at the royal court would withhold him from the performance of his duties. Edred was followed, in 955, by the voluptuous and prodigal young Edwy, whose enmity Dunstan had already earned, by the severe censures passed upon his morals, and by his fidelity as treasurer to Edred. On the day of his coronation, the young king suddenly left the table, at which his thanes were assembled around him, to repair to the company of two criminal women, Ethelgiva and her daughter, the former of whom had conceived the design of securing by marriage the royal dignity for herself or for her daughter. Dunstan, and Kinsey bishop of Litchfield, were commissioned by the insulted assembly to recall Edwy to the hall. Ethelgiva and Edwy revenged themselves on Dunstan. He was driven from his cloister; and, to avoid greater danger, was compelled to retire to Flanders; the monks of his two abbeys of Glastonbury and Abingdon were also driven from their homes. During the absence of Dunstan, Edwy continued his connexion with Ethelgiva, although he was now married. She fell into the hands of archbishop Odo, who, in virtue of a law against women who lived in adultery, banished her to Ireland. It was not long before the caprice and folly of Edwy caused an

insurrection in the northern provinces : he was obliged to fly, and Ethelgiva, who had returned from Ireland, accompanied him in his flight. She fell into the power of the insurgents, by whom, or by the followers of the archbishop, she was put to a most cruel death.

Edgar, whom Edwy, in 957, was obliged to recognise as king of Mercia and Northumbria, and who, after the death of Edwy, again united all in one monarchy, recalled Dunstan from his exile. Dunstan now filled, in succession, the sees of Worcester and of London ; and when Byrhtelm archbishop of Canterbury was necessitated to return to his former see of Sherburne, Dunstan was promoted to the primacy of the English Church. He went to Rome, and received the pallium from pope John XII, and at his return, resigned the see of London to Ælfstan, and that of Worcester to Oswald the nephew of Odo. With firmness immovable, Dunstan opposed himself to the king, and even to the pope, when the duties of his station required him. Edgar, who had violently taken from a monastery the daughter of an English nobleman, was required to separate himself from her and to subject himself to a canonical penance of seven years, with the condition of forming new laws for the better administration of justice. A powerful man, who had contracted an illegal marriage, was excommunicated by Dunstan. Favoured by the king, the nobleman appealed to Rome, and obtained a papal mandate, which enjoined the archbishop to remove his censures. "I will do so," was the reply of Dunstan, "if the offender will repent and give satisfaction." The nobleman, terrified, broke his illegal connexion, appeared before the synod which was then held, and humbly asked for pardon. He was then admitted by Dunstan to the sacraments. But the great contest in which Dunstan engaged with that firmness which marked his entire character, supported by the bishops Oswald of Worcester and Ethelwald of Winchester, was the reformation of the dissolute clergy. In Flanders, he had witnessed the happy results of the zeal of the abbot Gerhard, who had reformed many cloisters, and had

replaced the degenerate canons of cathedrals by Benedictine monks. After his return, he endeavoured to raise the monastic institute from the depths into which it had fallen. From his own resources, he founded an abbey at Westminster; he recalled the exiled monks of Glastonbury and Abingdon, and exerted himself to re-awaken in the nation the love for a cloister-life, and that noble spirit of generosity which had endowed former monasteries. He raised distinguished men of the monastic state to ecclesiastical dignities. He obtained from the pope and from the king authority to remove from the churches all such canons who refused to live according to the rules of their institute and to observe the laws of continency, and to replace them with monks. At a synod which was convened for this purpose, the king declared it to be his intention to enforce the decrees and regulations formed for the reformation of incontinent and worldly-minded ecclesiastics, with all the weight of his authority. It was resolved, therefore, to give to ecclesiastics of the higher orders the alternative between the observance of these regulations and the resignation of their benefices. Oswald bishop of Worcester introduced the reform into his diocese without violence, by building in the vicinity of his cathedral a new church, which he gave to monks, and in which he himself celebrated mass. The people abandoned the old church and its clergy: many of the canons put on the monastic habit, and finally the cathedral was given without opposition to the Benedictines. In Canterbury the canons, who were, perhaps, less corrupted than others of the same class, continued in possession of the metropolitan church. In Winchester, bishop Ethelwald was met by a determined opposition. The canons, many of whom had put away their first wives and had taken others, whilst many squandered away their revenues without allotting any part of them to Divine service, in drunkenness and dissipation, were encouraged by powerful relatives and protectors.*

* Wulstani Vita St. Ethewoldi, p. 614; Annal. Wilton. p. 289.

They deluded him with empty promises of amendment. At length, he ordered a number of monastic habits to be brought into the church, before the assembled canons, and required them either to put on that dress and to embrace the monastic institute, or to resign their places in the cathedral. Three of them chose the former proposal, the others retired and were compensated for their losses out of the goods of the bishopric. A colony of monks from Abingdon succeeded them. Some of the deprived canons revenged themselves by poisoning the bishop, but through the grace of Christ he recovered. In the following year, 964, the canons of the New Minster were replaced by monks from Abingdon. Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwald, encouraged, by their example, other bishops to found new, or to restore the ancient cloisters: and king Edgar could boast that in the first six years of his reign seven-and-forty cloisters were either founded or restored by himself or by his bishops; in some others, monks were placed instead of canons. As the cathedral institutes, which had been converted into cloisters, had no abbots, and as the bishop held the place of abbot, it was decreed in a synod of Winchester, at the instance of Dunstan, that for the future the bishop should be chosen by the monks of the cathedral, with the consent of the king, from their own, or from a neighbouring cloister. It was hoped that in this manner the election of prelates, who would maintain cloister discipline, would be ensured. It was desired, about the same time, to obviate all future attempts of the secular clergy to place themselves in the stations now occupied by the monks. To establish an uniformity of observance in the English cloisters, the *Concordia* of the English Benedictines was adopted in the same synod. In this statute the customs of the abbey of Fleury, which had been reformed after the model of Cluny, and of the abbey of Ghent, together with some ancient observances of the Anglo-Saxon cloisters, were blended with the rules of St. Benedict.

In reference to the other clergy, Dunstan renewed

the ancient law of celibacy, and as long as Edgar lived he met with no public opposition. But after the death of the king, in 975, the deprived secular clergy and their adherents took advantage of the confusion occasioned by the minority of Edward, and the machinations of his step-mother, again to obtain possession of their churches. The Ealdorman Ælfhar of Mercia expelled the monks from the cloisters of his province; whilst the princes of East Anglia, and of Essex, Athelwin, Alfwold, and Brithnod, took the religious under their protection. To avert the outbreak of a civil war a synod was held at Winchester, where the influence of Dunstan, and of the bishops who favoured his designs, obtained a decree in favour of the monks. But the married priests and their sons did not yet consider their cause as lost: at the synod of Colne, in 978, Beornhelm, an Irish or Scottish bishop, appeared as their advocate, and pleaded their cause with great eloquence, when suddenly the floor of the hall, in which the council was held, gave way. Some were killed, others were maimed; Dunstan being supported on a beam, remained unhurt. This event was viewed as a judgment of God, and the monasteries were for the present saved.

The reign of Edgar, and the administration of Dunstan, formed the last period of glory in the history of the Anglo-Saxons. After the death of this holy bishop, in 923, the long contest between the families of the Anglo-Saxons and of the Danes who had settled in the country commenced. The Danes, who were in almost exclusive possession of the north of England, strengthened by new comers from the Scandinavian tribes, their confederates, aimed at placing a king of their own nation on the throne, and they succeeded. But England was again first given as a prey to all the horrors of a war of devastation and plunder. The general massacre, in 1002, of the Danes who dwelt in the Saxon provinces, called for an awful revenge. In 1011, Elphige archbishop of Canterbury died the heroic death of a martyr. He was slain by the Danes because he refused to persuade the king to

pay them a large sum of gold, and to induce his brethren to offer a rich ransom for his liberation. Contests and rivalry were renewed in the Church between the monks and the canons. Ælfric archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 1006, introduced Benedictines into his cathedral, but not unfrequently were the churches taken by their lay patrons from the religious and given to the seculars; and during the devastations of the Danish wars many monasteries were again destroyed.

After three Danish kings had reigned in England, the country obtained a sovereign from the family of their ancient princes, in the person of the holy Edward the Confessor (1042-1066). He had lived long in Normandy, and during his reign the Norman influence in England became predominant. Edward surrounded himself with Norman ecclesiastics, who certainly surpassed the clergy of England in education and knowledge. One of them, Robert, a monk of the abbey of Jumièges, was created first bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; but the powerful party of earl Godwin drove from the country the archbishop and the other Norman favourites of the king. The ignorant and designing Stigand, who had been bishop of Elmham, and was now bishop of Winchester, obtained, in 1053, the metropolitan church of England, whilst he retained possession of his former bishopric; he procured the pallium from the anti-pope John of Velletri, and contrived to maintain himself in his see, although the pope Alexander II had pronounced over him sentence of suspension. Aldred, who, together with the archiepiscopal church of York, possessed also the see of Worcester, was deprived at Rome by pope Nicholas, in 1060, on account of his simony; for simony was in England, as it was elsewhere, the consequence of investiture; but after some time the pope mitigated his sentence, and required Aldred to resign only his bishopric of Worcester. Such at this time were the two chief bishops of the English Church; to them we might add others, such as Leofwin of Litchfield, who, although he had formerly been a monk, lived in a state

of public marriage. Amongst the clergy, ignorance was now so universal and so gross, that the greater part of them knew scarcely so much Latin as was necessary for the administration of the sacraments: amongst the religious, tepidity and luxury had insinuated themselves, they wore habits of fine cloth, and frequented the court, that by corrupting the courtiers, they might raise themselves to ecclesiastical preferments.

By the Norman conquest the condition of the English Church was in many ways changed, in some for the better, in others for the worse. According to the account of Norman historians, William duke of Normandy, after the decease of Edward, who died without children, submitted his claims to the crown of England to the decision of the pope. It was not difficult for him to demonstrate that his pretensions were better founded than those by which Harold supported his usurpation. Alexander therefore acknowledged his claim, and in proof that he favoured his attempts against the usurper, he sent him a consecrated banner. When he ascended the English throne, William put on the semblance of respecting the rights of the pope: the unworthy Stigand, who had on three accounts merited deposition, and his brother Agilmar, for whom he had procured the bishopric of Elmham, were deprived of their sees by a synod, held at Winchester, over which three papal legates presided, in 1070. Another bishop and several abbots met with the same fate in a synod held at Windsor by the same legates. It was the care of William that the crimes and delinquencies of many bishops should be brought to light, and be produced in judgment against them; the legates appear to have seconded in all things the views of the king, and sometimes to have exercised their power in unjust depositions; for by degrees, the higher dignities of the Church were possessed almost exclusively by Norman ecclesiastics. The learned abbot Lanfranc was created primate of all England,—a dignity which he received, however, only in obedience to the commands of the pope; the archbishopric of York was given to Thomas canon of Bayeux;

the see of Winchester to Walkelin, the king's chaplain. Happily these men, and others who were exalted with them, were men of worth, piety, and knowledge, who infused a new spirit into the almost lifeless body of the English Church, and who, by degrees, removed the great abuses which reigned amongst the clergy. But the independence and autonomy which William left to the Church were confined within narrow limits; his policy rather required the entire subjection of the English Church, the possessions and rights of which he respected as little as he respected the rights and possessions of his people. Lanfranc, who, as primate, was doomed to behold, without being able to prevent, the frightful tyranny of the king and of his barons, the misery of the people, and the oppression of the Church, prayed for death, and implored the pope with prayers the most fervent, but in vain, to relieve him of the burden of the episcopacy. With these drear prospects before it, the English Church entered into the following period.

For the restoration of ecclesiastical studies, St. Dunstan and Ethelwald, his friend and scholar, had done much; but the storms of the eleventh century obliterated almost every trace of their zeal. The only literary production of this age, worthy of notice, was the work of Ælfrie, a disciple of bishop Ethelwald, who translated a portion of the Scripture into Anglo-Saxon, and compiled a collection of homilies in the same language for the use of the clergy.

The Irish Church had, in the commencement of this period, attained to a high degree of perfection. Annually there went from its cloisters and its cloister-schools numbers of learned and pious men, natives and foreigners, and particularly Anglo-Saxons, who laboured with great success and with the blessing of heaven, in England and on the continent. From England there went, as Aldhelm writes, each succeeding year, numbers of young men to study in the abbey of Mayo, which was destined exclusively for English, and in other schools and cloisters. But from the year 795, Ireland shared the fate of England. It became the arena of the Nor-

mans or Danes, who desolated the island with their wonted barbarity and devastation, and destroyed many of the most flourishing schools of ecclesiastical learning. The consequence was, that Irish bishops, priests and monks, sought an asylum on the continent or in England: their inclination to settle in foreign lands was thus strengthened; and Osbern, the biographer of St. Dunstan, remarks that it had become a second nature in the Irish clergy to forsake their native land, and to wander into other countries. It was a favourable circumstance for the Irish Church, that at this time, about the year 800, the clergy was freed from the obligation of following their kings in war. But during the endless contests with the Danes, in which ecclesiastics were often necessitated to draw the sword in their own defence, a martial spirit took possession of them; and in the course of the ninth century, many abbots and priests took an active part in the domestic feuds of their countrymen. In the commencement of the ninth century, the metropolitan jurisdiction of the see of Armagh, "the law of St. Patrick" (by which we are to understand certain ancient regulations which had been introduced into the church of Armagh) was extended to the whole of Ireland. A striking phenomenon in the Irish Church at this period, is the union of the episcopal with the regal dignity, of which the bishop of Emly Olchobair Mac Kennedy, who, in 846, was made king of Cashel, is the first example. Amongst these royal bishops, the warlike Cormac Mac Culinan, bishop of Cashel and king of Munster, acquired the greatest fame. In the year 908, he was slain in a bloody battle: he was a devout and learned man, the author of the Psalter of Cashel, a book famous in the history of Ireland. The metropolitan church of Ireland, Armagh, fell about the year 927 into the possession of a powerful family, so that for two hundred years members of this family, who held at the same time temporal power, and were therefore called princes of Armagh, succeeded each other as bishops. Hence sprang the abuse, that married men of this family, who had never

received consecration, assumed to themselves the archiepiscopal title and rights. During the eleventh century there were eight temporal titular bishops of Armagh, who gave to other bishops the exercise of their spiritual functions. The Danes who had settled in Ireland were by degrees converted to the Christian faith; and about the year 1040, Donatus was the first bishop of the Danes at Dublin; the second bishop of Dublin, Patrick, an Irishman, was consecrated in England, in 1074, by Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, to whom and to his successors he promised canonical obedience. Hence the see of Dublin was made a suffragan church of Canterbury, although no Irish church had hitherto been in so close a relation with the English metropolitan; it appears, therefore, that the Danes in Ireland, subjected their church to the see of Canterbury, only from an inclination of relationship to the Normans, who now ruled in England. Two years before, indeed, at a synod held at Winchester, where the contest between Canterbury and York, for the primacy of England, was decided in favour of the former church, it was asserted in an appeal to the testimony of Bede, that in his time Canterbury possessed by a papal grant primatial jurisdiction over the entire of Britain and Ireland, an error which could have sprung only from the false interpretation of the word *Britanniarum*, which occurs in the epistle of St. Gregory the Great, in which he gives to St. Augustin legatine powers over all the British bishops.

Irish monks not only lived in different cloisters on the continent, they possessed also cloisters destined exclusively for religious of their own nation in many parts, particularly in Germany. These monasteries, which were erected principally in gratitude for the great part which the Irish had taken in the conversion of Germany, served as excellent schools also for the Germans, and as hostels for the many Irish pilgrims who travelled to Rome.* A cloister of this kind had

* See Acta SS. Bolland, Febr. ii. 361, Scotorum in Germania Monasteria.

been erected, about the year 786, at Amarbaric, in the neighbourhood of Virden, but it was soon destroyed. Charles the Bald, in one of his capitularies of 845, makes mention of the *Hospitalia Scotorum*, which Irishmen had founded in France for their countrymen, some of which, however, had fallen into the hands of strangers, and had been plundered. The abbey of St. Simphorian at Metz, which its restorer, bishop Adalberd, gave to the Irish abbot Fingen, was confirmed in its possessions by Otho III, in 992, with the condition that it should contain only Irish monks. The same abbot, Fingen, placed Irish monks also in the famed abbey of St. Vanne, at Verdun. In the diocese of Toul, in the time of bishop Gerhard, there lived in the same cloister Greek and Irish monks, who sang the divine office together in the Greek language. At Cologne, the abbey of St. Martin was inhabited from the year 975, by Irishmen, and a similar cloister was founded at Erfurt, in 1036. About the same time many Irish monks were found in the abbey of Fulda. Generally we are to understand Irish monks to be designated by the name of *Scoti*, which so often occurs during this period, in France, Germany, and Italy, not natives of Northern Britain or the present Scotland, for a greater part of this country belonged at this time to the kingdom of Northumbria, and was consequently under the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons. The Scots, properly so called, who inhabited Argyle and the neighbouring country, formed but a small population, and were too poor in schools of education to be able to send forth the many heralds of the faith, and learned monks, who distinguished themselves in foreign lands.

Many Irish scholars acquired great fame during this period by their labours in ecclesiastical studies. We may mention first, Virgilius (Feargil), who was bishop of Salzburg, in 756, and who had before been engaged in controversy with St. Boniface. His system of the existence of antipodes was condemned by pope Zachary, as he seemed to argue the existence of a second earth, inhabited by another race of men; Sidulius

bishop of Kildare, about the year 818, was most probably the author of a commentary upon the epistles of St. Paul, which now bears his name. Contemporary with him was Dungal, a teacher at Pavia, the opponent of Claudius of Turin. Sometime later lived in the court of Charles the Bald, the profound philosopher and translator of the writings of the Areopagite, John Scotus Erigena,* and cotemporary with him in France was the Irishman Mecarius, who, by maintaining that all men had but one soul, called forth a work in opposition to his doctrine from Ratramnus. Marianus Scotus, who passed from the cloister of Clonard, in 1056, to the abbey of his countrymen at Cologne, who afterwards lived at Fulda, was ordained priest at Wurzburg, and was, in 1073, the founder of the Irish abbey of St. Peter at Ratisbon, left behind him a chronicle, rich in its accounts of the Irish, and of their settlements on the continent.

The state of the Christian religion, and of the Church in Scotland, as far as it is not connected with the Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, is, through the want of records, veiled in obscurity. The seminary for missionaries and priests, who preached in the British north, was for a long time the cloister of Columbian monks, who were principally Irish, on the island of Hy. Before the union of the Picts and Scots in one kingdom, in the year 843, there was not any fixed bishopric; for neither the see of Abercorn, which was founded in 681, nor the see of Whithern (*Candida Casa*), which was restored in 723, could be long preserved. A few cloisters or cells, founded by the Columbian monks, were the only resting-places of Christianity; and were the more necessary, as the cloister on the isle of Hy was often desolated by the Norman sea-robbers, in the ninth and tenth centuries. King Kenneth, the conqueror of the Picts, founded in 849, a church at Dunkeld, dedicated to St. Columba, and a house for ecclesiastics, in which a bishop placed his see. The bishop of Dun-

* See page 73.

keld appears to have possessed a primacy over the Scottish Church, until it passed to the see of St. Andrew, where the bishop resided at the close of the ninth century. In an assembly at Scone, in the year 909, the king Constantine, and Kellach bishop of St. Andrew's, swore to preserve entire the faith and discipline of the Scottish Church.* At Brechin, Dumblane, Abernethy, Murtlac, and Aberdeen, religious houses were founded in this, and in the following century. In these houses bishops resided for the performance of the episcopal functions among the people; but during this period, there were no bishoprics with defined dioceses.† The condition of this Church resembled that of the Irish in this respect, that the bishops resided rather in cloisters, or in other religious establishments, than in cities or in towns: in some places the succession of bishops was frequently interrupted. Not unfrequently the abbot or prior of the Culdee communities was also bishop: of secular priests it appears that there were but few in Scotland, as mention of them seldom occurs. The clergy consisted chiefly of monks and of Culdees. The latter (Keledei, in Irish Ceile-Dae) that is, "servants of God," or according to another translation, "men living in community," who in modern times have been the object of fanciful misrepresentations, and of groundless hypotheses,‡ were no other than canons, and are first mentioned as existing in Scotland, after the middle of the ninth century. The Culdees of an episcopal see had the right of electing the bishop from their own body; and from the commencement of the twelfth century, when St. Andrew's became the metropolitan church of Scotland, the Culdees of this church enjoyed a precedence before all other Scottish communities, and asserted their right, that no bishop could be appointed in the country without their con-

* See the *Chronicon* in Pinkerton's Enquiry, i, 493.

† Chalmer's Caledonia, London, 1807, i, 431.

‡ See, for example, the work of Jamieson, replete with errors, an Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees.

sent.* Towards the end of this period, there were in Scotland thirteen communities of Culdees, some in episcopal sees, others in various places; the members of all of them are named in records *Canonici*, and this word is sometimes united with the name *Kelidei*; at other times either word is used alone.† Their rule, which was probably the ancient one, which was compiled before the time of Chrodegang, obliged them to live in community under a prior or abbot. But by degrees the houses of the Culdees fell away; the inmates separated and lived in separate dwellings, and many of them took wives. Hence from the twelfth century, the bishops endeavoured to reform them: but more frequently the kings and bishops invited regular canons, principally from England, whom they placed in possession of the houses and churches of the Culdees. In the Culdee cloister of Dunfermline king David I placed thirteen English monks from Canterbury. A controversy between the Culdees of Monymusk and the bishop of St. Andrew's was decided in 1212 by pope Innocent III in favour of the former; and there existed at St. Andrew's a community of Culdees, the members of which obtained their places by inheritance from their relatives, and, at the same time, a house of regular canons. The Culdees appealed in 1297 to Pope Boniface VIII against the asserted right of the canons to elect the bishop, but they lost their process. In Ireland, Culdees are first mentioned as existing at Armagh in 921; but they were not numerous, as, according to ancient custom, the clergy at the cathedrals were almost always a community of monks. In England, the cathedral of York had, about the year 936, and for some time after, a community of Culdees.

* See a fragment of a chronicle of Durham in Usserii, Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 1032.

† Jamieson, Appendix, No. 12-17.

PERIOD THE FOURTH.

FROM POPE GREGORY VII TO THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE PROTESTANT SEPARATION FROM THE
CHURCH (FROM 1073 TO 1517).*

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

EXTENSION OF THE CHURCH.

SECTION I.—CONVERSION OF THE POMERANIANS.—
TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY AMONGST THE SCLAVONIAN
S IN GERMANY AND IN THE ISLE OF RUGEN : CHRISTIANITY IN FINLAND AND IN LIVONIA.†

DURING this period the Christian religion was introduced amongst the still pagan Sclavonian, Finnish, and

* General Sources :—Lambert of Aschaffenberg ; Berthold's and Bernold's Continuation of the Chronicle of Hermann (to 1079 and 1100) in Ussermann, *Monum. Aleman.* tom. ii. ; Marianus Scotus, continued by Dodechin (to 1200), in Pistorius, tom. i. ; The Chronicle Urspergense (the first part to 1126, the second to 1229), Argentorat., 1609, fol. ; Sigeberti Gemblacensis, *Chronicon* (to 1112, with a continuation to 1200), in Pistorius, tom. i. ; *Annalista Saxo* (to 1139), in Eccardi *Corpus Histor.* tom. i. ; Oderici Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* (to 1142), in Du Chesne, *Script. Normann.* ; Ottonis, Episc. Frisingens. *Chronicon* (to 1152), in Urstisius,—the Continuation, by Otto de S. Blasio (1146-1209), in Ussermann, tom. ii. ; Ottonis, Frising. *De Gestis Frederici I, Imp. Hist. libri viii.* (to 1156), with a Continuation by Radevicus (to 1160), in Muratori, tom. vi. ; Alberti Stadensis, *Chronicon* (to 1256), in Schilteri, *Scriptores Rer. Germ.* ; *Chronica Regia S. Pantaleonis* (to 1162), in Eccard. tom. i.—the Continuation by Godefridus Mon. Pantaleonis (to 1237), in Freheri *Scriptt.* tom. i. ; Alberici *Chronicon* (to 1241), in Leibnitii *Access. Histor.* tom. ii. ; Matthæi Paris. *Historia Major* (to 1259, continued to 1276), ed. Watts, Londini, 1640, fol. ; Martini Poloni, *Chronicon* (to 1276), in Schilteri *Scriptt.*—the Continuation to 1345, in Eccardi *Corp. Hist.* tom. i. ; Vincentii Bellovacensis, *Speculum Historiale*,

Lettish tribes in the north of Europe. The Pomeranians, a Sclavonian nation, who inhabited Pomerania Proper as far as the Vistula, and Wartha and Lusatia on this side of the Oder, were the first converted. The Sclavonian deities, as they were honoured on the island Rugen, particularly Geravit, the god of war, and the triple-headed Triglaw, were worshipped also by the Pomeranians. In further Pomerania, which from the year 497 had been tributary to Poland, the Polish duke Boleslaus Chrobri founded the bishopric of Colberg, and placed in it a German bishop, named Reinbern. Reinbern was murdered in 1015, on a journey into Russia: the bishopric of Colberg became extinct, and further Pomerania was united with the diocese of Gnesen. But the Pomeranians constantly endeavoured to throw off the Polish power: when conquered, they purchased their safety by receiving baptism, but as soon as they were able again to take up arms they renounced the Christian

Duaci, 1624, fol.; Ptolomæi de Fiadonibus, Hist. Eccl. (to 1316), in Muratori, tom. xi.; Guil. de Nangis, Chronicon (from 1113 to 1300, with the Continuation to 1368), in d'Achery, Spicileg. tom. iii.; Alb. Mussati, Hist. Augusta Henrici VII, de Gestis Italicorum, post Henricum VII, Ludovicus Bavarus ad filium (1308-1329), in Muratori, tom. x.; Giov. Villani, Historie Fiorentine, with a Continuation by Matteo and Filippo Villani (to 1364), in Muratori, tom. xvi.; The Biographies of the Popes, by Pandulfus Pisanus, Bern. Guido, Nicol Rossellius (to 1356), by Amalricus Augerii (to 1321), in Muratori, tom. iii, p. i. iii.; Joh. Vitodurani, Chronicon (1198-1348), in Eccard.; Alberti Argentinensis, Chronicon (1273-1378), in Urstisius; Gobelini Personæ Cosmodromium (to 1418), in Meibomius, tom. i.; S. Antonini, Archiepiscopi Florentini, Summa Historialis (to 1459), Opp. Florent. 1741. tom. i. fol.; Pii II Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium, a Joh. Gobelino compositi (1405-1465), Fref. 1614, fol.—the Continuation by Jac. Piccolomini (to 1469); Joh. Trithemii, Annales Hirsauginenses (to 1514), Monast. S. Galli, 1690, 2 vols. fol.

† Vita Ottonis ep. in Canisii Lectiones Ant. tom. iii. p. ii.; Andree, Abbatis Babeberg in Ludewig, SS. Rer. Bamberg, tom. i.; Helmoldi, Chronica Slavorum, ed. Bangert, Lube, 1659, 4to.; Vita Metrica Vicelini, Episc. Aldenburg, in Leibnitii Scrip. Rer. Brunsvic. tom. i.; Henrici Letti (about 1226) Origines Livoniæ Sacræ et Civilis, edid. Gruber Fref. et Lips. 1740, fol.; Kangiesser, Bekehrungsge-schichte des Pommern zum Christenthume, 1824.

It will be observed that two periods, the Fourth and the Fifth of the larger work, are compressed into one in the present work.

faith, considered by them as a burthen, which was increased by the payment of tithes, and as an oppressive yoke, which was imposed upon them as a chastisement by their enemies. By the subjugation of the Pomeranians in 1107 and 1120, further Pomerania, which had hitherto been independent, was entirely subdued: the inhabitants of West Pomerania were made tributary, and were obliged to promise on oath that they would become Christians. A Spanish priest, named Bernard, who had been consecrated by the pope bishop of Pomerania in 1122, began to preach Christianity amongst them, but was derided by them on account of his poverty, as the Lord of the world could not have chosen, they said, a poor mendicant like him for his ambassador: he was therefore compelled to abandon the country. He entered into a cloister at Bamberg, where adding his entreaties to the invitations of the duke of Poland, he persuaded Otho, bishop of Bamberg, to devote himself to the conversion of the Pomeranians. Otho was named papal legate by the pontiff Callistus, and in 1124 entered West Pomerania, accompanied, according to the advice of Bernard, with a numerous retinue, and with several cars laden with presents, and with the furniture of churches. The Pomeranian duke, Wratislaus, who was already a Christian, received him with joy. The prudent and mild demeanour of the bishop, his princely retinue, and his disinterestedness, made a favourable impression upon the minds of the pagans, who had by their last defeat been made to doubt of the power of their gods. At Pyritz, seven thousand Pomeranians were baptized, after an instruction of seven days. At Camin, Otho found the entire pagan population already prepared by the Christian duchess, and all desirous of baptism: many who had been before baptized and who had fallen from the faith were reconciled to the Church. The greatest opposition was encountered by the bishop in the rich commercial cities Julin and Stetin; but finally the people of Stetin promised to forsake their idolatry, when the Polish duke, at the request of Otho, engaged to grant them a lasting

peace and the remission of the tribute. When they saw that the destruction of their temples and idols brought down no judgment upon the bishop and his companions, they assisted themselves in the work of destruction. The citizens of Julin followed the example which had been given them by Stetin, and within two months twenty-two thousand pagans were baptized in Julin. To remove polygamy, the duke set the first example, by the dismissal of his twenty-four wives; the murder and the exposure of their children and the burning of the dead, with many other pagan practices, were prohibited. When Otho returned in 1125 to Bamberg, twelve churches had been built; one of his chaplains, Adalbert, was left in Julin as its first bishop. During a second journey into Pomerania in 1128, Otho induced the Lusatians (who had looked upon the missionaries that had hitherto visited them as poor mendicant impostors, whose only search was for gold) to receive the faith. At Walgast and Guzkow the inhabitants destroyed their own pagan temples; at Stetin and Julin many had fallen from the faith; others, in their erroneous ideas that Christ could be worshipped together with their ancient gods, had erected to him an altar at the side of an altar of pagan sacrifice. This Otho caused to be broken, he reconsecrated the church, and notwithstanding the opposition of the pagan priests, he extirpated the last remains of paganism. In 1128 Otho returned to his own country, but continued to the time of his death, in 1139, in relations of beneficence with the Pomeranians. The see of Julin (which in 1170 was transferred to Camin) was placed in immediate subjection to the papal see by Innocent II in 1140. The country was continually more and more Germanized by clergy, who followed each other from Germany, and by German, and particularly Saxon, colonists.

After the third great defection of the Obotrites and Leutizians, in 1066, idolatry again triumphed in the provinces on the Lower Elbe. Henry, the son of Gotescale, again subjected to himself the Wendish tribes, but did little for Christianity: he erected only one

church, at Lubec, which was destroyed after his death. The Wendish king Knut Laward supported the missionary labours of the excellent Vicelin of Hameln, who had already announced the faith to the Dithmarsers, had destroyed their sacred groves and idols, and had founded Newmunster, as a point for the support of Christianity, on the borders of Slavonia. But after the murder of Knut in 1131, the two Slavonian princes Pribislav and Niclot opposed themselves to the propagation of the faith, and many Christians were cruelly put to death. Vicelin, however, found protection in the emperor Lothaire ; but after his death, Lubec and the new church at Sigeberg were destroyed. The depopulated Wagria had in the meantime become Christian, by means of colonists who had been called thither from Germany and from Flanders ; and although a crusade of the Saxon princes, undertaken to subject the Trans-Albingian Wendish provinces, produced no permanent results, Hartwich archbishop of Bremen undertook, in 1150, to restore the Slavonian sees of Aldenburg and Mecklenburg. Vicelin, who in the meantime laboured with the greatest success in Holstein and in other places unceasingly for thirty years, generally amidst the greatest opposition and difficulties, was made bishop of Aldenburg, and Emmehard, bishop of Mecklenburg. The duke Henry the Lion, who had done nothing for the restoration of the bishopric, compelled the new bishop Vicelin to receive investiture from him ; a right, to which in Germany only the kings had laid claim. The holy man could with difficulty live amongst a people, of which the greater part was still pagan, and died in 1154. Gerold his successor could at first effect but little ; the endless oppressions of the German princes embittered the people, and took from him the means of building and endowing churches. Duke Henry, to whom the king Frederic I transferred the right of the investiture of the Trans-Albingian bishoprics, benefited religion by founding, in 1154, the bishopric of Rasseburg among the Polabi, which he conferred upon the provost of Evermod. Soon after this time

the bishopric of Aldenburg was transferred to Lubec, and the bishopric of Mecklenburg, which city was now destroyed, to Schwerin. Christianity now triumphed in these parts the more easily, as German colonists in great numbers settled in them, so that, about the year 1204, in the bishopric of Rasseburg only a few villages were entirely Slavonian. The still pagan Wilzen and Heveller were compelled by Albert, the first marquis of Brandenburg, to embrace Christianity, about the year 1157, and the bishoprics of Havelburg and Brandenburg were now restored after an interval of one hundred and fifty years from their destruction. Eleven years later the Slavonian idolatry was subdued in its last asylum and chief fortress, the island of Rugen. In 1168 the Danish king Waldemar appeared with his fleet before the strong citadel of Arcona, where was the principal Slavonian sanctuary, the temple of the god Swantewit, and, seconded by the prudent Absalom bishop of Roschild, obliged the Rugians to surrender: the statue of Swantewit was broken in pieces, the temple was burned, and a church built upon its site. The idolaters received baptism the more willingly, as they became convinced of the impotence of their gods, who had left unavenged the cruelties and afflictions to which they had been subjected. Rugen was united to the see of Roschild: the church was endowed with the riches of the temple, whence Absalom took upon himself the maintenance of the clergy. The Rugians were thus left free of all ecclesiastical tributes, a circumstance which accelerated their adoption of Christianity.

The Finlanders, who, as late as the middle of the twelfth century, honoured Kawe, their God of Nature, his two sons, and the spirits of the elements, by the sacrifice of human victims, were subdued by Eric the Holy in 1156. Many were compelled to receive baptism; and Henry bishop of Upsal, an Englishman, was their first apostle, and received for his labours the crown of martyrdom. Ignorance of the Finnish language, which was poor in words expressive of Christian ideas, impeded their conversion. In 1240, the greater part

of Finland was either pagan or had by apostacy renounced the faith. The Tawasti in Finland cruelly persecuted the Christians who dwelt amongst them: the Swedish Jarl, Birger, led a crusade against them in 1249, and obliged them to embrace Christianity, and placed Christian colonists in the country. When, some years later, the Carelers, who inhabited the lands beyond the Tawasti, raged with implacable barbarity against their Christian prisoners, the Swedish sovereign Thorkel headed a holy war against them, and compelled them again to adopt the faith which had before been preached to them by the Russians.

The countries on the Baltic, as far as the gulf of Finland, Prussia, Courland, Livonia, Esthland, and Lithuania, which were inhabited by Lettic (Slavonian) tribes, or, as was Prussia, by a population composed of Slavonian mingled with Lettic and German families, continued pagan down to the thirteenth century. The Lettic tribes adored a god in the form of a bird; they had their sacred trees and groves, offered human sacrifices, and were, like the Finlanders, skilled in the arts of magic and sorcery. In company with some merchants of Bremen, who traded with Livonia, Meinhard, an aged Augustinian monk, came into this country in 1186. He baptized many, and founded at Ykeskola (Yxkul), on the Duna, under the protection of a town built by the German merchants, his first church. At the head of his little band of converts he repelled the attack of a troop of pagans, and in 1191 was consecrated bishop of the new church in Livonia, at the command of the pope, by Hartwig archbishop of Bremen. But at his return from that city he found many of his converts relapsed into idolatry: his companion Dietric was saved from death as a sacrifice to the idols, only because the prophesying horse, when consulted, raised the foot of life. Meinhard could do little more down to the time of his death, in 1196, than to preserve in the faith the few who continued true to their religion. His successor, the Saxon Cistercian abbot Berthold, escaped death only by flight: he returned, in 1198,

with an army of crusaders, who had been called together by the voice of the pope; but he fell in the conflict. The conquered Livonians surrendered; but immediately after the withdrawal of the crusading army they endeavoured to wash away their baptism in the Duna: they persecuted the Christians who remained in their country, and by the threat of death compelled the priests to seek for safety in Germany. The new bishop, Albert of Apeldern, came amongst them at the head of an army of pilgrims, and founded on the Duna the city of Riga and several cloisters. For the protection of the Christians, and of the churches in the conquered countries, he formed a new order of knights in 1201, with the approbation of the pope, on the model of the Templars, who were named the Brothers of the Knight-hood of Christ, or Sword Brothers. For the maintenance of this order, which was bound in obedience to the bishop, Albert destined a third part of the lands which had been granted to him by king Philip, and afterwards by the emperor Otho IV, according to the then prevailing idea, that the emperor could dispose of the lands of pagans. Contests respecting rights and possessions, which soon arose between the order and the bishop, were decided by the pope in favour of the knights. Amidst the continued conflicts of the order with the hostile Russians of Polozk and the surrounding pagan tribes, Christianity made rapid advances. It was in vain that the unconverted Livonians united themselves with the Esthians, Courlanders, Semgalli, and Russians, to extirpate the Germans, and to destroy Christianity. The persevering courage and the spirit of the new order were triumphant; and under the protection of its castles German colonists began to settle in the land.

SECTION II.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO PRUSSIA.—
THE GERMAN ORDERS IN PRUSSIA.—ATTEMPT OF
THE LITHUANIANS TO CONVERT THE MOGULS.*

IN Prussia, which was then divided into eleven independent states, paganism, through the power and veneration which were enjoyed by the Grive, as priests, legislators, and judges, was more deeply rooted than in the other lands. The three gods, Percunos the Thunderer, Potrimpos the god of corn and fruit, Picullos the Destroyer, were adored with a multitude of inferior deities, and the ancient chief of the tribe Widewud, with his brother Bruteno, the first of the Grive. The sanctuary of the entire nation, and the residence of the principal Grive were at Romove, where were the sacred oaks and the veiled statues of the gods. The numerous priests were required to live in celibacy: of the people each one could take three wives, who were treated as his slaves. All the daughters, except one in each family, were put to death: deformed sons also and sick persons whose recovery was doubted, servants and handmaids, were all burnt with the corpse of their master. Human sacrifices were offered in numbers to the gods.

The first missionaries who preached the faith in Prussia, all suffered the death of martyrs. St. Adalbert

* Petri de Dusburg (about 1326), *Chronicon Prussiæ*, S. Historia Ordinis Teuton. (1196-1326), ed. Hartknoch, Jenæ, 1679, 4to.; Lucas David (obit 1583), *Preussische Chronik*, herausg. von Hennig, Königsberg, 1812-17. For the Moguls, *Narration of Travels*, by John von Carpin and W. Rubruquis, in Bergeron, *Voyages en Asie*, La Haye, 1735, 4to. tom. i.; *Letters of J. Montecorvino*, in Wadding, *Annales FF. Minor*, ad annum 1205.

Hartknoch, Diss. xiv, De originibus Relig. Christ. in Prussia, Appendix to Pet. de Dusburg; Voigt's *Geschichte Preussens*, Königsberg, 1827, tom. i. ii. iii.; Kojalowicz, *Historia Lithuaniae*,—p. i. Dantisci, 1659, p. ii. Antwerp, 1669; Mosheim, *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, Helmstadt. 1741, 4to.

bishop of Prague, was, soon after his arrival, in 797, murdered by a priest, because he had unconsciously trodden upon sacred ground; and in 1008, Bruno, who had been consecrated at Magdeburg bishop of the pagans, was beheaded with his eighteen companions. The long wars with Poland embittered the hatred of the people against Christianity; Poland, weakened by its division into four dukedoms, and by its internal wars, could offer only a faint resistance, and it was only from the conversion of these implacable and indomitable enemies that the Poles could expect peace and security. A Cistercian monk from Pomerania, named Christian, who had been educated in the abbey of Oliva, was the first apostle of the Prussians. Supported by his cloister-brethren in Oliva, he had converted many in the territory of Lobau, and on the confines of Pomerania. The pope received his converts under his immediate protection, to guard them from the oppressions of the duke of Pomerania, and of the Poles. In 1214, he went for the second time to Rome, in company with two converted chieftains, when the pope consecrated him bishop of the Prussians, and gave him for his diocese the lands which were conferred upon him by the two princes. But after his return the pagans commenced a war of extermination against Christianity; they burnt or destroyed in Culmerland and Masovia three hundred churches and chapels; they compelled many to renounce their faith, and inflicted on the Christian priests tortures which ended in death. An army of crusaders, the guidance of which was entrusted by the pope to the bishop Christian, marched in 1219 to the assistance of the faithful. Under the protection of this army, and by a grant of Conrad duke of Poland, the bishopric of Culme, the see of which was in the strong city of the same name, was founded. The sanguinary warfare which the infidels renewed after the departure of the army, by which they laid waste Culmerland and Massovia, determined Christian to form in Prussia, as had been done in Livonia, an order of knights for the protection of the infant Church. A papal legate, who was

then in Prussia, and the duke of Massovia, gave him their assistance, and thus the order of knight-brothers of Prussia Dobrin was instituted after the model of the Templars. But in an unsuccessful battle the greater part of the knights of this new order were slain. The infidel Prussians now laid waste the abbey of Oliva, and put to a cruel death the monks who had fled to Dantzic. In this situation of distress, Christian and the duke of Massovia turned themselves to the grand master of the German or Teutonic order. The pope and emperor confirmed the commission by which the order undertook the subjugation of the pagans, for which it received in return Culmerland, which belonged to the duke of Massovia, and all the territory which should be conquered, with the rights, secured by the emperor, of a prince of the Roman empire. Supported by a new army of crusaders, and being united with the remnant of the Dobrinian order, the knights penetrated by degrees into the interior of the country, and secured their conquests by the erection of castles, under the protection of which arose the cities of Culme, Thorn, Marienwerder, and Elbing, which were peopled by German colonists. The lands which were conquered by the order, were divided by the pope, in 1243, into the three bishoprics, Culme, Pomerania, and Ermeland. Each bishopric was again divided into three parts, of which one was subject to the bishop, who possessed over it feudal power, the other two to the order. In the year 1255, after the subjugation of the northern province of Samland, by a crusade which was headed by Ottocar king of Bohemia, the bishopric of Samland was added to the other three.

In Livonia, the indefatigable Albert, bishop of Riga, aided by the crusaders whom he had brought with him from Germany, had completed the subjugation of the Esthians; but the order of Sword-brothers, who had been enfeebled by a defeat, suffered in 1236 from the Lithuanians, appears to have yielded to their more numerous enemies. The bishop of Riga therefore obtained from the pope the absolution of the knights

from the oath and rule of their order, and their incorporation with the Teutonic knights. Herman Balk, who was now prince of Prussia and Livonia, entered into this country, in 1237; but the reinforced order had now to protect a more widely-extending territory against more numerous enemies; against Swantepolk duke of Pomerania (who was jealous of the vicinity of the order), against the Russians, the Lithuanians, and the still pagan inhabitants of the country. Swantepolk, together with the newly converted Prussians, laid before the papal throne serious complaints of the oppression which the latter were compelled to endure; finally, however, the papal legate, James of Troyes, who was afterwards pope with the title of Urban IV, brought about a reconciliation, and effected a peace. The Prussians bound themselves to discontinue polygamy, sacrifices to their idols, infanticide, the sale of their daughters, to bury the dead, to observe the precepts of the Church, to pay tithes to the Order, to take part in its expeditions, to build churches, which the Order should provide with the necessary clergy. On the other hand, full personal liberty, and, at their desire, the Polish form of administration of justice, were guaranteed to them. The popes, with the most beneficent solicitude, took the infant Prussian Church under their protection; they provided for the institution of parishes, they continually required priests and monks to devote themselves in Prussia to the instruction of the people; they defended the new converts, and forbade the chiefs of the Order to invade their personal liberties. No Christian, they maintained, should be placed in a station inferior to that which he held whilst in infidelity. These strong measures of the popes, which were accompanied with severe threats against the Order, and that ever-increasing mildness and Christian love, which distinguished this spiritual confraternity, even after the most sanguinary conflicts, gave to conquered Prussia a destiny more happy than that which had fallen to the lot of the Sclavonians, after their subjugation by the Saxons. The

knights attended the poor and the infirm in their hospitals, they sent Prussian youths and maidens into Germany, particularly to Magdeburg, to be instructed. From the year 1251, schools were founded in Prussia. No one could be compelled to receive baptism by the command of his lord; friars (particularly the Dominicans, to whom the pope assigned this duty) laboured in the work of conversion. By the great number of German settlers, by the rights that were ceded to them, by the flourishing state of the cities, which was promoted by the order, the Germans soon acquired the preponderance over the Prussian population, and Christian morality and education over pagan corruption and vice.

Once again, did Prussian paganism, encouraged by a defeat of the knights by the Lithuanians, in 1260, endeavour to raise its head. Eight knights, who had been taken prisoners by the Lithuanians, were burnt alive in honour of the gods: the Prussians destroyed, as far as their arms could reach, all that was Christian; they murdered the clergy amidst the most cruel tortures, and were not subdued until 1283, after a most obstinate contest of twenty-two years, which the Order could not have maintained without the assistance of armies of crusaders, which were sent to them by the popes. The convention of 1249, which was so favourable to the Prussians, was now annulled, and the fate of the conquered lay in the will of the victors. But although many of the nobility were deprived of their freedom or of the independence of their possessions, and were reduced to the condition of serfs, still, in general, their lot was more mild than that of the Slavonians in the neighbouring countries. The bishops in Prussia were, to a certain extent, dependent on the Order; they would pronounce no censure against the brothers, their subjects, or their churches. The episcopal sees and chapters (Ermeland excepted) were filled generally with members of the order, or the canons of the chapters frequently entered the order and elected the bishops only from their own body. The order acquired, more-

over, the right of visitation of the chapters, and thus obtained the most decided influence in the government of the Church.

The Lettic bishoprics in Esthland, Liveland, and Curland, were founded in part earlier than those in Prussia. Albrecht bishop of Riga had, in 1210, with the consent of the pope, consecrated Dietric bishop of the Esthians, and in 1217 the abbot Bernard bishop of the Semgalli. In consequence of the devastation of Esthland by the Danish king Waldemer II, there arose a Danish-Esthian bishopric at Reval, together with the German-Esthian bishopric at Leal (removed in 1224 to Dorpat), both of which were confirmed by the pope in 1219. The bishopric of Osel was added to these in 1227, after the subjugation of this island of pirates. The papal legate William, who, in 1225, found the Christian country between the Duna and the Narba, notwithstanding the sanguinary wars, still populous and flourishing, held at Riga the first synod of the Livonian-Esthian Church. The Kuri readily embraced Christianity in 1230, and by an embassy sent to Rome they honoured the pope as their lord. The ecclesiastical division of the country was formed by the legate William, who gave to Riga a third part, another to the diocese of Semgalli, and of the remaining part formed a new diocese of Curland. But the bishopric of Semgalli was destroyed, in 1246, by the general defection of the people from the faith. The church of Riga was, in 1265, made the metropolitan of Prussia and Liveland: but the independent station of the archbishop, the conflict between the interests of his city and the Order, produced at the end of the thirteenth century a long and oftentimes renewed contest, in which both parties had recourse to arms, and in which the archbishop did not hesitate to call in the assistance of pagan allies.

The Lithuanians, who were a tribe related to the Prussians, who were addicted to the worship of animals, in addition to the honours paid by them to Perkun the god of thunder, were converted at a later period, and not without foreign power. Mindove, the son of one

of their chief princes, had indeed embraced the faith in 1252, and had obtained from the pope the title of king. The Dominican named Vitus was consecrated first bishop of the Lithuanians, but Mindove found it more conformable to his interests to return to paganism, and destroyed, as far as he was able, all the professors and establishments of the Christian faith. Lithuania continued pagan until 1386, when the chief prince Jagal, who had hitherto been the enemy of the Poles, proposed to the nobles of the latter nation to unite the two countries by his marriage with their young queen Hedwiges, and to introduce the faith into Lithuania. The Poles consented: Jagal, with many of the Lithuanian chieftains, was baptized at Cracow, and received the name of Ladislaus. Thence he went with his queen, accompanied by many Poles, seculars and ecclesiastics, to Wilna: a diet of the nation made the Christian religion the law of the land. The first bishop of the new see of Wilna, which was subjected to the pope, was Andrew Vasillo, a Polish Franciscan, who was confessor to the queen. The conversion of the people was rapidly effected, and in a manner extraordinary, when we consider that the Polish ecclesiastics were unacquainted with the language of the country. The sacred fires were extinguished, the groves were cut down, the sacred serpents and lizards were killed, the idols were broken in pieces; and when the Lithuanians saw that all this passed unrevenged, they the more easily became worshippers of the God of the strangers. The new converts, allured by the present of a white woollen garment, were conducted in troops to the banks of rivers, and there baptized, frequently without previous instruction. Jagal, indeed, endeavoured, by his instructions during his journeys of conversion through the land, to supply in some degree the inability of the Polish priests. It was natural that many pagan practices, at least in private, should be preserved in Lithuania.

The conversion of the Samaites, a tribe connected with the Lithuanians, followed some years later. Many

of them had been baptized by Prussian priests in 1401, whilst the power of the Teutonic order still prevailed, but Christianity was first introduced into the country generally in 1413, by king Jagal and the Lithuanian priest Withold. The impotence of the idols, which calmly submitted to their own destruction, convinced the Samaites that the God of the Christians was the more powerful, and induced them to give their attention to the preachers. Withold founded an episcopal see at Miedmichi, the principal city of the country, which also owed its origin to him. Amongst the Lapianders, who had subjected themselves to the government of the Swedes in the year 1279, Christianity had made a commencement at an earlier period, about the year 1335, when Hemming archbishop of Upsala built a church in Tornea, and baptized a number of the natives.

In the distant east, in the interior of Asia, the Nestorians made considerable progress as late as the eleventh century, and spread the report in the west of a powerful Christian king and priest named John, who reigned in that distant country, a report which appears to have arisen from the conversion of a king of the Neraites, a shepherd tribe of interior Asia, who bore the title of Wang-Khan, that is, *chief khan*, translated probably into *Joannes Rex*. From a successor of this pretended priest-king, pope Alexander III received an ambassador in 1177, whom he consecrated bishop, and sent back with letters. By the Moguls under Ischingis-Khan his entire tribe was destroyed in 1202; but the union of Ischingis-Khan with the Christian daughter of Wang-Khan appears to have been the cause why the princes of the Moguls treated the Christians with kindness and leniency; and, according to the account of Marco Polo, the eldest son of Ischingis-Khan, named Dochagati, embraced Christianity at Samarkand. The widow of his brother Octai was also of the family of Wang-Khan, and a Christian: her son Gajuk, although not himself a Christian, had, in 1246, Christian priests around him, and a chapel before his pavilion, in which the divine worship was celebrated.

The popes and king Louis the Holy sent Franciscans and Dominicans to carry the faith into Asia to the Moguls, who, since the time of Ischingis-Khan, ruled over Persia, China, and over the greater part of central and eastern Asia. The khans of the Tartars received these ambassadors, and evinced a partial inclination for Christianity, partly because they had not yet decided on a state religion, as they did later, by the adoption of Buddaism or Islamism, and partly because those who ruled in the west of Asia sought an union with the Christian princes against the Muhammedans, their common foe. But the barbarism of the Moguls, the indifference of the Chinese, the jealous zeal of the influential and numerous Nestorians, the obstinate attachment of the idolators to their own worship, all this, connected with the ignorance of the Western missionaries of the language and manners of the nation, placed such impediments in the way of their exertions, that the Franciscan John of Montecorvino, whom pope Nicholas IV sent to the Moguls in 1288, had almost to begin the work of conversion in the north of China, where he resided. He, too, had much to suffer from the persecutions of the Nestorians, who wished not to allow even an oratory to the catholics. Eleven years he laboured alone, when he received an assistant in the person of Arnold of Cologne, a brother of his order. In Khan-Balikh (the royal city), or Cambalu, now called Pekin, he built a church, baptized six thousand men, and educated one hundred and fifty children, whom he had purchased as slaves: he translated the New Testament and the Psalms into the Mogul language, he converted a Mogul prince of the family of the Keraites, the descendant of the above-mentioned Wang-Khan, and persuaded many of his subjects to exchange Nestorianism for the Catholic faith: but many of the latter being at a distance from their instructor, who was obliged to live at Cambalu, fell back into Nestorianism, after the death of their prince George. About the year 1306, the chief khan permitted John of Montecorvino to erect another church in Cambalu, in the vicinity of his palace,

which is, however, no proof of his predilection for Christianity, as the Mogul princes were anxious to propitiate the priests of every religion. Clement V, in 1303, raised the church of Cambalu to the rank of an archiepiscopal see, of which John was appointed first metropolitan, with extensive powers. The pontiff sent him also several assistants, whom he consecrated his suffragans. John died in 1330. Nicholas, a Franciscan, was named his successor, but was prevented, either by death or by captivity, from exercising his functions; for in 1338 the Christians of Tartary complained that for eight years they had been without a pastor. Thirty years later, when the Moguls were driven from China, Christianity also was expelled.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE POPES, FROM GREGORY VII TO THE DEATH OF CALIXTUS II.

SECTION I.—GREGORY VII.—THE CONTEST CONCERN- ING INVESTITURES.*

AFTER the death of Alexander II, in April, 1073, Hildebrand, chancellor of the Roman Church, was chosen as his successor, by the unanimous voice of the people and clergy. The cardinals also, to conform to the ordinance of Nicholas II, declared that their choice fell upon him, and he was, therefore, notwithstanding his own opposition, enthroned in the church of St. Peter. Hildebrand was the son of a citizen of Siena. He had unwillingly followed his preceptor, pope Gregory VI, after his abdication, into Germany; he afterwards lived as a monk at Cluny, and having accompanied pope Leo IX to Rome, in 1049, he was, with St. Peter Damian, the principal counsellor, coadjutor, and agent of the Roman pontiffs. From the many journeys and legations which he had performed, he had learned, perhaps better than any one of his contemporaries, the political and

* *Gregorii VII, Registri S. epistolarum, libri xi.* (the tenth is wanting), in *Mansi*, tom. xx.; *Pauli Bernriedensis, de Vita Gregorii VII*, in *Muratori*, tom. iii. p. i.; *Bruno de Bello Saxonico*, in *Freher*, tom. i.; *Lambert of Aschaffenburg, Berthold of Constance, Bonizo; Hugonis Flaviniacensis, Chronicon Virdunense*, in *Labbé, Bibliothec. Manuser.* tom. i.; *Donithonis, Vita Mathildis*, in *Muratori*, tom. v.; *Udalrici Babenbergensis, Codex Epistolaris* (collected about 1125), in *Eccardi Corp. Hist.* tom. ii.; *Vita S. Anselmi*, in *Mabillon Acta SS.* sæc. vi. p. ii.

Enrico Noris, Istoria delle Investiture delle Dignità Ecclesiastiche, Mantova, 1741, fol.; *Voigt, Hildebrand als Papst Gregorius VII und sein Zeitalter* (Hildebrand, as pope Gregory VII, and his Times), Weimar, 1815.

ecclesiastical state of Europe, and he therefore saw, from the very commencement of his pontificate, the entire difficulty with which he was surrounded: he knew now, when the papal see had, by the restoration of the freedom of election, and by the succession of excellent pontiffs who had filled it, acquired its dignity and independence, that all well-disposed persons looked to him for the fulfilment of his promised designs of the purification and exaltation of the Church; but he knew at the same time that he had to commence a contest of life and death, with the complicated interests of worldly power and of a degenerate clergy, with the numbers of those who would attempt all for the preservation of the then existing order of things,—a contest, of which, even should it terminate favourably, he could not hope to see the end, and in which, according to all human foresight, defeat was more probable than victory. The solitudes of the first days of his pontificate threw him on a bed of sickness. In this state he wrote to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, imploring the prayers of him and of his people; “for,” said he, “to avert the judgments of God from myself, I must encounter kings and princes, bishops and priests.” He had before declared openly and clearly in his letters the ideas which guided him, and which he entertained in common with a great majority of his contemporaries:—the Church must be drawn at any price from its present state of slavery and corruption; it must be freed from the yoke of the temporal power which employed ecclesiastical persons and things only as means to their own, oftentimes wicked and iniquitous, ends. The great evil of the Church was, that bishops and priests who had been appointed by the civil power, frequently for gold, generally with self-interested views, and without reference to the wants of the Church, were in all things subservient to the will of kings and of nobles, and administered their offices in the spirit of pride, of avarice, and of worldly-mindedness, with which they had acquired them. In the pope, the organ of the highest spiritual power, as he was subject to the greatest responsibility,

there reposed the most extensive authority ; kings and princes were subject like other Christians to the judgment of the Church for the violation of the divine precepts ; if their offences were public, and particularly if they menaced danger to the Church, then, not the bishops, who were subject to the offenders, and under their power, but the pope, who was the chief administrator of the power of binding and of loosing, was to judge these crowned violators of order, to oblige them to undergo penance and to give satisfaction, and, in extreme cases, to punish them with excommunication.

Against king Henry of Germany, Gregory proceeded openly, but in a spirit of friendship and mildness. Until the confirmation, which the decree of Nicholas II had reserved to the king, had arrived, Gregory would not be consecrated, and named himself only “ bishop of Rome elect.” He himself warned the king not to imagine that by receiving from him the confirmation of his election, he in any wise sanctioned his wicked life. The courtier-bishops of Henry endeavoured to persuade him to withhold his consent, but his ambassadors, upon their arrival at Rome, found that all had been done according to order, and Gregory was consecrated. This was the last confirmation of a papal election by the temporal power. Henry, who was then pressed by the Saxons, wrote to the pope an humble letter, in which he confessed that, having been led astray by youthful impetuosity and by the flattery of his counsellors, he had grievously offended ; that he had plundered the possessions of the Church, and had bestowed its dignities upon unworthy simonists ; he implored pardon and assistance from the pope ; he promised obedience to him, and gave to him the entire regulation of the constitution of the Milanese church. He formally laid his complaints against the Saxons, after they destroyed Hartzburg, and its cloister, before the pope ; Gregory endeavoured, but in vain, to act as mediator between the two parties.

The pontiff found himself called, before all things, to attend to the relations, important for Rome and for

the Church, with the Lombards and with the Norman princes in Lower Italy. Landulf, duke of Beneventum, and Richard, duke of Capua, were, by their oaths of feudalty, his vassals ; some time later, the powerful Robert Guiscard was compelled by a sentence of excommunication to renew his oath of fidelity. In 1074, at a great synod held at Rome, at which the Lombard bishops and many Italian princes were present, former decrees against simony and against the incontinency of ecclesiastics were renewed and strengthened. The purchasers and the sellers of ecclesiastical benefices were punished with excommunication : only those were to be ordained, who bound themselves to a life of continency ; married priests were to separate from their wives, or to be deprived of their offices : should they despise this command, the laity were not to be present in their churches when they celebrated mass, nor to receive the sacraments from them. This last decree raised a violent storm, and in many places was met with the most obstinate opposition. Siegfried, archbishop of Mentz, Altmann, bishop of Passau, and the archbishop of Rouen, ran the risk of their lives, when they endeavoured to enforce its execution : at a synod at Paris, Walter abbot of Pontisare was treated with cruelty for the same cause, and hardly escaped with his life. But this very conduct of the married clergy and of their patrons, proves clearly that the pope had every reason to expel so corrupt and licentious a race from the service of the Church, into which they had entered only by simony ; and the willingness with which the people obeyed the command to withdraw themselves from the ecclesiastical communion of these men, tells us how weary they had become of their yoke, and how much all religiously-minded men desired a more pure, a less rude and less worldly priesthood. In fact, so closely were these two sources of all ecclesiastical abuses, simony and incontinency, united together, that the one could not be destroyed as long as the other was permitted to remain ; for so soon as it was permitted to married men to obtain possession of ecclesiastical dig-

nities, no power on earth could prevent churches from being degraded to mere family provisions, and ecclesiastical benefices from being bestowed by fathers on their daughters as dowers, or transmitted as inheritances to their sons. All the higher and lower ecclesiastical dignities, such at least as were lucrative, came by degrees into the hands of the rude, ignorant sons and relatives of rich and powerful families, to the exclusion of all who were in the lower ranks of society : the pious and the conscientious, who possessed not such connexions, or who would not employ them, were held back ; and the care of souls, the administration of the sacred mysteries, was an inheritance, which men sought to make the most profitable : the spirit of mortification, of self-devotion, and of disinterested exertion, disappeared, or was to be found only in cloisters. All these consequences followed in many places, as in Normandy ; and hence all that the Church possessed of learning, of education, and of piety, was arrayed, with a few exceptions, in this great combat (as it was later also in the controversy on investitures) on the side of the pope. Still, however, the married clergy had their defenders, such as Siegbert of Gemblours, and the anonymous author of a work on this subject.* These writers paint in dark colours the commotion excited amongst the laity, by the decree of the pope against the clergy. They relate that many laymen baptized their own children, that others, in their hatred against these ecclesiastics, had proceeded to acts of sacrilege, and that some priests had been wounded and others murdered. Acts of this kind may indeed have occurred, where married and simoniacal priests sought to maintain themselves in their benefices by force of arms. Without the intervention of the pope a bloody war might have been the consequence of this opposition. But without foundation is the accusation of Seigbert and of the anonymous writer, that Gregory declared the sacraments administered by married priests to be invalid.

* In Martene, *Thesaurus Anecd.* i. 230.

Gregory had not yet opposed himself to investitures : he permitted Anselm, the nephew of the late pope, to receive investiture from the king, before his consecration as bishop of Lucca. To Henry he sent in 1074 an embassy of four bishops, to whom, at his request, the empress Agnes, the mother of the king, joined herself. This princess, who had been formerly hostile to Gregory, as the chief promoter of a papal election,* which was disagreeable to her, had now entered into friendship with him. He possessed a stronger support in the powerful margravine Matilda, who ruled Tuscany and the greater part of Upper Italy ; a woman of extraordinary talents, who in political wisdom, indefatigable activity, in education and in strength of mind, has scarcely an equal in history. The empress and the ambassadors persuaded Henry to remove those five counsellors, the bishops of Ratisbon, of Constance, and of Lausanne, and two counts, who had been excommunicated by Alexander II : they induced him also to free himself from the censures which he incurred by the sale of ecclesiastical benefices, by subjecting himself to the penance which had been imposed upon him. The legates, to proceed legally against the prelates who were accused or suspected of simony, desired to hold a German council, but Liemar of Bremen and other bishops opposed this design with all their power, and thus drew down upon themselves a sentence of suspension from the pope, and a citation to Rome.

The pontiff had now convinced himself that the end of all his desires, the restoration of free canonical elections, could never be obtained, nor simony be extirpated, as long as the root of these evils, *investiture*, was not cut off. Investiture, particularly in Germany and Italy, had now produced this evil consequence, that the court disposed of bishoprics and abbeys according to its own caprice, without even the appearance of an election. In the episcopal sees and in abbeys there were to be seen the creatures of the court, who were strangers to

* See page 152.

their subjects, and had been forced upon them ; who had attained their rank only by rich presents to the king or to his attendants, by their servility, and by their readiness to serve in all things the king and his favourites. The principal seminary from which bishops were taken to fill the German and Italian sees, was the collegiate chapter of Goslar, where Henry then resided with his court, which was famed for its immorality ; the canons of this chapter had every opportunity of practising the arts of base flattery and disgraceful servility, which were the surest path to ecclesiastical honours ; and of all the bishops who had been taken from this school, only Benno, bishop of Meitzen, took the part of the Church in the subsequent controversy. At this period it had been of little avail if the Church had endeavoured to re-establish the freedom of election, and had allowed the practice of investiture to remain ; for, so long as investiture was an act that necessarily preceded consecration, it was always in the power of the court to annul an election, and to intrude a stranger into a bishopric. This was clearly proved by Henry, when, after the death of Anno, in 1076, he appointed, notwithstanding the opposition which arose on every side, the unworthy Hidulf, a canon of Goslar, in whom he knew he should possess a worthy instrument for all his designs, to the archbishopric of Cologne, and promised to the bishop of Utrecht, if he could obtain consecration for his cousin, to bestow upon him the see of Paderborn. In France the election preceded the act of investiture ; but here also the king, by the law of investiture, could prevent the bishop from taking possession, and, if he pleased, investiture was made to precede the election, or by investiture the election was directed to another person. Thus, when Philip contemplated his adulterous marriage with Bertrade, he appointed a certain Walter to be bishop of Meaux, upon whose servility he could safely depend.

Hence, in the third synod which Gregory convened, in 1075, twenty months after his exaltation, it was decreed, that any one who should thereafter accept a

bishopric or an abbacy, or any inferior ecclesiastical benefice, from the hands of a layman, should be deposed; and that any temporal prince who should assume to himself the investiture of a bishopric, or of any ecclesiastical dignity, should be deprived of the communion of the Church. The motive which, known or unknown, gave impulse to this last endeavour, was not expressed: it was, however, intended by it to free the Church from the oppressive chains of the feudal system, and to liberate the bishops from the condition of vassals. Gregory well knew that his new decree forcibly attacked the existing rights of the king, and he therefore wrote to Henry, stating that his resolutions were necessary for the salvation of the Church, which was threatened with ruin: that they contained nothing new, but only restored the primitive constitutions of the Church: he was willing to act with moderation, if the king would send to him prudent and pious men, who would prove to him that he could with a safe conscience lessen the severity of his decrees. But Henry would not listen; and Gregory continued, contrary perhaps to the rules of ordinary prudence, as he had first commenced the contest with the married clergy, and with all who were connected with them, now to attack kings and the most powerful laity, who were in their interest. He appeared to have brought into array against himself the whole power of Europe, whilst in Rome itself the ground trembled beneath him. For here also he had increased the number of his enemies by his zeal for the restoration of the purity of the Church. With great labour, he had driven from the church of St. Peter those married laymen, who acted as clerics, who let out the altars to hire, and took money from the deluded people: he had thus injured the interest of many, and more was feared from him. Thus the ancient adherents of Cadalous, prelates whom he had suspended, men of the factions of the Roman nobles, who were irritated at the independence of the Roman see, which had been wrung from them, confiding in the (promised or expected) approbation and support of the king, joined in conspiracy against

him. At the head of this party were Wibert archbishop of Ravenna, whom Alexander II had been induced to consecrate only at the prayer of Gregory, the artful cardinal Hugo, and the fierce Cenci, who had made himself infamous by his murders. The pope was attacked in the church on Christmas eve, was wounded, and cast into a tower; but he was soon liberated by the Romans.

Henry, after he had subdued the Saxons, whom his tyrannical cruelties had driven to insurrection, in his pride and haughtiness set aside all respect for the pope, for the rights and for the demands of the Church. Into the chief church of northern Italy, the church of Milan, he intruded the perjured Thedald as archbishop, whilst Godfrey and Atto were still living, and thus violated at once the promise which he had given to the pope and the oath which his plenipotentiary had sworn to the Lombard bishops at Novara. He soon after placed strangers in the sees of Fermo and Spoleto: he profited of the deprivation by the pope of Hermann bishop of Bamberg, to place in that see his confidential favourite Rupert, the iniquitous provost of the Goslar; he now recalled his dismissed counsellors, who had been again excommunicated by Gregory for their acts of simony. Whilst the murderer Cenci and his companion cardinal Hugo sought and obtained an asylum in Germany, there came legates from the pope, the bearers of letters, in which Gregory declared to the king, that by his actions he proved himself to be an obstinate enemy of canonical and apostolical ordinances. To the demand of Henry, that Gregory should depose the Saxon bishops on account of the part which they had taken in the late insurrection, the pontiff answered, that they should be first restored to their churches, and that he would then judge them in a German synod. Henry treated this letter with contempt: and the legates, in virtue of the commission which they had received, cited him, under pain of excommunication, to appear at Rome. He dismissed them with contumely from his court, and summoned an assembly of German bishops and abbots to

meet at Worms. They came. Only Benno of Meitzen, who had gone to Rome to attend the synod of the pope, Gerhard of Salzburg, Altman, and some of the Saxons, remained away. And now it was evident to the world what spirit animated the men to whom the destiny of the German Church had in the few last years been confided. Here they sat, the nurslings of the Goslar court, the creatures of royal favour, of avarice and caprice. Otho of Constance, Pibo of Toul, Rupert of Bamberg, Hozmann of Spire, William of Verona (who was also of the school of Goslar), the ferocious and passionate William of Utrecht, the avaricious and infamous Siegfred of Mentz, Otho of Ratisbon, and Burchard of Lausanne (both of whom were no more than rude soldiers, and had been excommunicated by the pope, and the latter of whom lived in a state of public marriage), Verner of Strasburg, who had been twice accused at Rome of serious offences, all ready to obey servilely the wishes of the king, and eager to take revenge of the pope, whose inflexible justice they had experienced, or to disarm him for the future. Hugo, whom Gregory had deprived of his rank of cardinal for his forgery of false briefs, and for the favour shown by him to simony, pretending to be the delegate of the cardinals and of the senate and people of Rome, presented to the assembly a letter filled with complaints against the person of the pope, the falsity of which must have been evident to all. They seized with joy the proffered pretext, and passed this decree,—that he could not be pope, nor possess the power of binding and of loosing, whose life was stained by such crimes. Each one was required to present a written declaration that he withdrew his obedience from Hildebrand: only Adalbert of Wurzburg and Hermann of Metz resisted; but they withdrew their opposition when the bishop of Utrecht, the creature of Henry, required them, in virtue of the fidelity which as vassals they had sworn to their liege lord the king, to sign the decree. This oath was at that time understood to have this meaning,—the bishops were the feudal subjects of the king, and as such could acknow-

ledge as pope no other than the person for whom the king had decided. The same requisition was made by William king of England to his episcopal vassals ; and hence it is evident how great reason the Church had to exert all its force to break the chains of this disgraceful bondage. Such was the unexampled issue of this synod of Worms ; from which, as the contemporary writers Hugo of Flivagny and Gebhard of Salzburg assert, all the misery of the Church and of the state took its origin.

Insulting letters from the king and the bishops to "Hildebrand the false monk" required him to descend from the chair of St. Peter, and to give place to one more worthy. A synod of the simonaical bishops of Lombardy, whom the messengers of Henry had hastily collected at Piacenza, followed the example of the synod of Worms, and bound itself by oath no longer to obey Gregory VII. The messenger who conveyed this decree to the synod which was now opened at Rome, and who summoned the cardinals to proceed to Germany to receive a new pontiff from the king, was with difficulty saved by the pope from the indignation of the people. But on the following day letters came from the German bishops, containing excuses for their conduct and renewed protestations of obedience. The pope, with the consent of the one hundred and ten assembled bishops, passed sentence of excommunication on the archbishop of Mentz, and on the bishops of Utrecht and Bamberg : he suspended the others who co-operated with them, and gave to those who had acted against their wills time wherein to repent. He proceeded in the same manner against the bishops of Lombardy. Then, being requested, as he said, by the entire synod, and in presence of the empress Agnes, who remained faithful to the Church even against her own son, he pronounced sentence of excommunication against Henry, the chief offender ; he excluded him from the government of the German and Italian kingdoms, and released all Christians from their oaths of fidelity to him. This was not an act of deposition but of suspension, the then neces-

sary consequence of excommunication ; for the faithful could not in any manner associate with one excommunicated, who, as long as his excommunication continued, could perform no act of government.

An assembly of Lombard bishops and abbots of Pavia, under the guidance of Guibert, undertook to throw back upon the pope the sentence of excommunication with which they had been struck. The same was done by the bishop of Utrecht, with the approbation of the king, who was residing with him. But immediately after this act he died a death of misery and despair. The duke Gozelo also, who had engaged to conduct the new pope to Rome, died ; and now the union of Worms lost all its strength. The adherents of Henry could neither respect nor love him : a youth stained with the abominations of every vice, who was sunk so deep in crime, that, like the Byzantine emperor Michael, he desecrated, with the wicked mob of his court, the sacred night of the Nativity by a shameful mimicry of the holy mysteries.* Many of these adherents were attached to him by self-interest, the better part by the strong prevailing feeling of feudal fidelity : now when the former had more to fear than to hope from their adherence to him, and a higher duty commanded the latter to separate themselves from him, he saw himself almost abandoned. The Saxons, whom since their subjugation he had most cruelly oppressed, armed themselves at the first news of the papal excommunication for a more general insurrection. In a new assembly at Worms, Henry wished to nominate another pope ; but when Udo archbishop of Triers, who had returned from Rome absolved from his censures, refused to co-operate with the excommunicated bishops, a deep impression

* Henry is accused of these crimes and abominations not only by the impassioned Saxon, Bruno ; other writers, who were not engaged in the party strifes of the times, such as Geroh of Reigersberg, represent him in the same odious colours. The last-named author assures us that he had even seen at Ratisbon the chapel which had been desecrated by the above-mentioned act of sacrilege. Gerohi Reicherspergensis de Henrico IV and V Syntagma, Ingolstad. 1611, p. 35.

was made upon the synod : princes and bishops left the court ; the bishops of Mentz, Verduu, Liege, Constance, and Munster, were absolved by the papal legate, Altmann bishop of Passau, having first complied with the conditions required by the pope.

After some preliminary deliberations of various princes at Ulm, as the Saxons were now in arms, a numerous diet was held at Tribur, at which the spiritual and temporal princes of the nation met from all the German districts. Here appeared the papal legates, Sigard patriarch of Aquileia, and Altmann of Passau, bearing a letter from the pope, in which Gregory expressed in unequivocal terms his wish that Henry should be retained upon the throne. If, he wrote, Henry should continue to treat the Church as a handmaid, and should proudly assert his right of investiture, only then should they proceed to elect another king. It was doubtless the influence of this letter, and of the legates who partook of the same feelings, that prevented the princes from entering at once upon a new election. The miseries of the times, the confusion of the kingdom, the prevalence of vice, and the degradation of the Church, were all laid to the fault of Henry. He had offered to abdicate his government, provided the title and the emblems of royalty were left to him. After long consultation it was resolved to leave the final decision to the pope, and to invite him for this purpose to a diet of princes at Augsburg. Henry, should he continue for the space of a year under excommunication, would lose his right to the kingdom, and be compelled to live like other excommunicated persons, in the retirement of private life. This was according to the discipline of the times, by which a person excommunicated, if he should pass a year without obtaining a remission of his sentence, was cut off from the Church as incorrigible and heretical.

Henry, helpless and abandoned, yielded in all things ; but he well knew that his powerful and numerous enemies would wish to prevent his reconciliation with the pope ; that they would lay before him at Augsburg severe (and

his conscience told him they were unanswerable) complaints, and would wish to induce the pope to renew the sentence of excommunication against him, and thus pronounce a definitive sentence of his deposition. Gregory consented to go into Germany; but Henry, to anticipate him, hastened into Italy, where he found the pope at Canossa, a castle of the margravine Matilda. Many of the excommunicated German bishops, Liemar of Bremen, Eppo of Zeitz, Benno of Osnabruck, Burchard of Lausanne, Burchard of Basil, together with some laymen, had arrived before the king, and after a short penance had obtained absolution from their censures. Through the mediation of Matilda, and of Hugo the abbot of Cluny, and other princes, Henry was admitted, although the pope was, at first, unwilling to hear the the cause of an accused person in the absence of his accusers. Three days he did penance in a woollen garment, fasting, and imploring the pope to grant him immediate absolution, for the anniversary of his excommunication was near, and he knew that the German princes were determined formally to depose him, should he not then be absolved. According to the usages of the times, there was nothing dishonourable or disgraceful in this form of public penance; other princes of the age, kings and emperors, had willingly submitted to more severe conditions. On the morning of the fourth day, Gregory, at the earnest request of the margravines Matilda and Adelaide, closed the penance of Henry. The king then promised on oath that he would answer the accusations of the German princes in an assembly to be holden in Germany, and over which the pope should preside; that in the interval he would abstain from every act of government; that with regard to his kingdom, he would subject himself to the guidance of the pope; that he would dismiss his evil counsellors; and that he would repair all ecclesiastical abuses according to the will of the pontiff; should he neglect these conditions, his absolution should be annulled, and he should never again be heard. Gregory was necessitated to admit the first condition, the assembly in Ger-

many, as he had already consented to the meeting of the German princes and of his legates. He then absolved Henry from his censures, celebrated the holy sacrifice of the mass, and gave to the king, as the seal of his reception into the bosom of the Church, the body of the Lord.* Henry thus received again his rights and his

* According to the narration of Lambert, the pope received the holy eucharist in the form of a *God's judgment*, or ordeal, as a proof that he was innocent of the heavy crimes with which he was loaded by the opposite party, and then he gave the sacrament to the king upon the same condition,—that he should clear himself of the many and serious accusations that were raised against him in Germany. For this transaction, the severest reproaches were cast upon the memory of Gregory by many historians, as by Stenzel, in his *Gesch. der Frank. Kaiser.* i. 411. On the other hand, Luden, d. G. ix. 580, has proved from internal arguments the improbability of this narration; and, in fact, the pope could not have acted in this manner, as he had deferred the enquiry into the accusations to the future synod that was to be held in Germany; but, according to the laws of the time, he would have decided the cause by the ordeal. Not only the internal but the external evidences against this narration are fully convincing. Of all the contemporary writers, Lambert is the only one that has given it. Berthold says, indeed, that Henry did not wish to receive the communion, but knows nothing of the ordeal: he considers the administration of the communion by the pope as no more than what it really was, the natural consequence of the absolution, and the sign, which always followed, of the granting of ecclesiastical communion. Donizo, who resided at Canossa, and who must have been acquainted with the circumstances, and Waltram of Naumburg (apud Freher, i. 816), a follower of Henry, say only that the pope gave the holy eucharist to the king as a sign of his reception into the communion of the Church. But from the more ample narration of Bonizo (apud Oefele, ii. 816), who was well informed of what he relates, and who lived in the neighbourhood, we can trace the origin of the fiction that was repeated by Lambert. Gregory, as we there learn, warned the king not to receive the body of the Lord unworthily, but only if he were sincere in his penance, and in his protestation that he recognised him as lawful pope, and that the excommunication laid upon him were binding, and that he really believed that he received the absolution of his censures by this sacrament. This narration bears internal and external evidences of truth: Gregory absolved the king from his censures during the mass, at the moment of the communion, and by administering the same. He then called to the mind of the king the awful consequences of an unworthy reception of the holy sacrament, should his repentance and submission be only hypocritical. But did Henry in reality receive the communion? Certainly; this is asserted by Bonizo, by Donizo, and by Waltram; had he declined it, as we are told by Ber-

kingdom, and although the pope could not restore to him the exercise of government at a time when all Germany had risen against him, and had loaded him with the heaviest accusations, he gave to him the title of king, and treated with him as king until the year 1080.

When he left Canossa, Henry found himself in a situation in which everything conspired to deprive of its effects his reconciliation with the pope. The Italian bishops, more powerful than the German, with their chiefs, Thedald of Milan, Sigefrid of Bologna, and Roland of Treviso, were indignant that they and their cause were abandoned by the king; their principles, which were as distant from those of the pope, as heaven from earth, rendered impossible a union between them and Gregory; they must, unless they wished to yield, remove Gregory, and place upon the papal throne one of their own number, who would tolerate their simony and their violation of all ecclesiastical law. They had already attempted extremes against the pope, and the faithless Hugo failed not to fan the flame. The barons also thought that they had a king who would make to them rich concessions of wealth and privileges; but Henry had renounced the administration of government. He therefore found himself surrounded with reproaches in Italy. His adversaries threatened to depose him, and to elect in his stead his infant son Conrad, to proceed with him to Rome, and to nominate a new pope. Henry endeavoured to pacify these men, but could not

thold, the strongest suspicion, which he was anxious to avoid, would have been awakened against him. But his speedy relapse gave occasion to the report, which Berthold has repeated, that by refusing to receive the holy communion at Canossa, he gave "a proof of his impure conscience and of the hypocrisy which was concealed within him." But in middle and northern Germany, where, through the prevailing hostile feeling against him, his enemies were desirous of new proofs of the truth of the horrible accusations that were raised against him, the report was spread, such as we read it in Lambert, namely, that by the non-reception of the holy sacrament, which was offered to him as a *God's judgment*, he betrayed the heavy guilt of his conscience.

publicly separate himself from the pope ; partly through respect for his mother, who was then residing at Piacenza, and partly through fear of the German princes. But a papal legate was thrown into prison in Lombardy, where he died, and an interview which was intended to have taken place at Mantua was broken off, as Gregory and Matilda, who had been warned of the treachery of the king, or of the Lombards, interrupted their journey. In March 1077, Gregory was invited by the Germans to preside at an assembly which was to be held at Forcheim, but he could not accept this invitation as Henry refused to grant him a safe conduct. Notwithstanding his exhortation, that the princes would not proceed to the election of a new king, unless obliged by extreme necessity, this was done at Forcheim. The duke Rudolf of Swabia, who was doubly related to Henry, was crowned at Mentz, by the archbishop Siegfried, after he had promised to grant the free election of bishops, and recognise Germany as an elective kingdom, ceding by this act his son's right of succession. The princes thus, in fact, gave that definitive decision which they had a short time before solemnly reserved to the pope.

But now the characterless changeling spirit of the German princes, which in these times had been so often proved, acted its part. Rudolf saw himself abandoned without cause by the greater part of those by whom he had been elected. Henry, who in the meantime had come to an understanding with the Italians, returned into Germany, and in a short time collected around him his ancient followers ; he formed a powerful army ; the bishops of Augsburg, Constance, Strasburg, and Lausanne, again passed over to him, or even took arms in his cause. In the south of Germany, only the bishops of Wurzburg, Passau, Worms, and Salzburg, remained faithful to Rudolf, who was obliged to retire into Saxony.

Gregory, at first, maintained an independent station between the two competitors : he wished to decide the contest for the throne in conjunction with the spiritual

and civil princes in Germany, and obtained from both, each of whom looked for his support, a safe conduct into that country. To both his journey was equally objectionable. Henry, who possessed all the Alpine passes, was able, and was resolved, to prevent the progress of the pope into his kingdom. He began immediately to fill the episcopal sees with his own creatures. In many churches there were now two bishops, one belonging to the party of Henry, the other to that of Rudolf; the next consequence of this contest was, that the miseries of civil war, plunder, devastation, and murder, were everywhere increased. Whilst the papal legate, Bernard, in a synod at Goslar, in November 1077, too precipitately excommunicated Henry, and confirmed the possession of the kingdom to Rudolf, Gregory convoked a synod in Rome, to meet in March 1078, and to it both kings were invited to send their delegates. Henry, who alone could do this, sent the bishops of Osnabruck and Verdun; the Saxons sent letters bitterly complaining that the pope, instead of adhering to the first excommunication, now spoke of two kings, and was willing to commence again the cause which had been already decided. Gregory was placed in the midst, between the two contending parties, both of which had violated their compacts with him, and as he was without full information of the true state of affairs, for the followers of Henry kept all the passes closed, he could not well act otherwise, and his endeavours to decide the contest in a synod, as arbitrating judge, was the only means by which an appeal to the sword, and all its consequent evils, could be prevented. At the termination of the Roman synod, another embassy from the pope was sent into Germany to effect a peace and reconciliation; but in vain, for the war continued to rage with redoubled cruelty. Henry received the legates with every demonstration of honour, as their presence was a proof to the people that he was not excommunicated, but he hastened from them to the diet, which had been assembled at Fritzlar. After the undecisive battle of Mellerichstadt both kings again

sent ambassadors to the pope, and in the synod which the pope was then holding at Rome, each accused the other of placing impediments in the way of the projected diet of the kingdom ; each demanded against the other sentence of excommunication. The ambassadors of Rudolf made heavy accusations against the conduct of Henry towards the Church ; he trod religion under his feet ; he treated priests as abject slaves ; he had imprisoned or banished many bishops and archbishops. The greater part of the fathers, on hearing this recital, declared that at length the time was come, in which the final stroke should be struck against him ; but Gregory still believed in the possibility of a favourable termination to this contest. A new legation, in which was the celebrated Petrus Igneus, bishop of Albano, was sent into Germany ; but the oft-intended diet, the object of so many hopes, was again prevented, chiefly through the fault of Henry and his adherents, although those who would prevent it were by anticipation excommunicated by the legates, and although Henry always pretended an unconditional obedience to the commands of the pope.

In Italy, and even in Rome, the party of Henry was at this period the more numerous ; only Matilda, who had collected together a body of chieftains, who, guided themselves only by self-interest, continued in a steady adherence to the papal see. In Germany the miseries of the Church and of the people were without bounds. Henry forced into the bishoprics, the prelates of which were either dead or exiled, his most zealous followers, without any regard to their ecclesiastical qualifications. Thus Treves was doomed to bear the yoke of Egilbert, who had been before excommunicated by his own bishop in Passau, but whom not one of the provincial bishops would consecrate. Augsburg received Siegfried, the friend of the king, but he was soon opposed by Wigold, who had been sent by the pope : Salzburg was laid waste by the prodigal Berchtold, who succeeded the exiled Gebhard. Adalbert bishop of Worms was held prisoner by Henry ; his bishops attacked the cloisters which

favoured the pope ; dukes and counts combated against the bishops. The pope could now no longer continue a spectator of these scenes. Henry's deceitful conduct was now made evident : the cardinal Peter of Albano, who had returned to Rome, made the most severe complaints against him ; and although he had been vanquished in the battle of Fladenheim, his ambassadors in Rome, the bishops of Bremen and Bamberg, required of the pope that he would excommunicate Rudolf, menacing him that unless he complied, Henry would choose another pope. On the other side, the Saxons and the Thuringians complained loudly of Gregory's procrastinating weakness. Matter was not wanting to the ambassadors of Rudolf wherewith to paint the faithless and tyrannical conduct of Henry. The pope therefore in a numerous synod which he held in Rome in March 1080, renewed against Henry,—who had prevented the assembly which was intended to effect a peace,—who had, without necessity, reduced numbers of Christians to the greatest of extremities,—who had laid churches desolate and had sunk his kingdom into the deepest of miseries,—sentence of excommunication and of deposition : he absolved his subjects from their oath of fidelity, and declared Rudolf to be the only true sovereign of the Germans. He had previously repeated his prohibition of investitures, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against all princes and kings who should exercise them. Henry and his followers endeavoured to repay the pope with similar acts. Nineteen bishops assembled for this purpose at Mentz : the Lombard and German prelates and nobles met in greater numbers at Brixen. Here the old perjurer Hugo again acted his part ; and whereas Gregory had founded his judgment against the king upon well-known facts, here thirty prelates, many of whom had been deposed and excommunicated in former synods, blushed not to declare the pope deprived of his high rank, founding their sentence upon the accusations that he had seized by violence the Roman see, that he had conspired against the life of the king, that he was a sorcerer, a

follower of the heresy of Berengarius, and that he had entered into an alliance with the devil. They then elected the great friend and defender of the simonists, the oftentimes-excommunicated Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, as anti-pope. Henry bent his knee before his puppet, swore to place him on the throne of the Vatican, and to receive from him the imperial crown. Guibert—he now named himself Clement III—excommunicated king Rudolf and the duke Guelf.

Whilst Gregory, who foresaw the coming events, had provided himself with a support in Lower Italy, by his reconciliation with the Norman duke Robert Guiscard, whom he had before excommunicated for having plundered the lands of the Church, but who now, by his oath of fidelity, had become his vassal, Rudolf died in Germany of the wounds which he had received in the battle in which the Saxons defeated their enemy on the banks of the Elster. It was not long before Henry again appeared in Italy; and whilst Gregory, in a Roman synod, repeated the sentence of excommunication against him, he caused Guibert to be recognised as pope in an assembly of Lombard bishops, in the year 1081, although the whole Christian world was in communion with Gregory. He in vain endeavoured to allure to his party the duke Robert, by a promise of a portion of the papal territory. In 1081, and again in 1082, he marched, but without any result, against Rome; he left *his* pope at the head of the army, which was destined to lay waste the Roman territory, an occupation for which he was more suited than for his ecclesiastical office. In his third invasion Henry gained a part of the city, and Gregory shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo. Weary of the long siege and suffering from want, the Romans assailed the pope, to force from him a reconciliation with the king, who promised on his part to recognise him as lawful pope, and to receive from his hands the imperial crown. He would thus surrender the unhappy Guibert, whom he had employed only as an instrument in his contempt and oppression of the Church. But the inflexible Gregory replied, that

only when Henry had offered satisfaction for his notorious crimes to God and to his Church, would he absolve him and place the crown upon his head. The Romans at length agreed with Henry, that Gregory should call a general council and leave to it the decision of their contest. The pope called this assembly, and in a public epistle declared to all the faithful, that in this council it would be clearly shown, who was the real author of all the existing misery, and of the division between the Church and the empire. But Henry, by whom this synod was not at all desired, caused the bishops and abbots, and even the papal legate Otho of Ostia, although he had promised on oath to grant safe conducts to all, to be attacked on the way, to be plundered and imprisoned. The money which the Greek emperor Alexius had sent him to carry on the war against the duke Robert, he employed in corrupting the Romans. Gregory therefore held a synod, to which, besides the prelates of Lower Italy, only a few French bishops came, but the pope could do no more than exhort them to patience and perseverance. In 1084, Henry returned for the fourth time, with Guibert, to Rome, where his largesses of gold had opened a way before him. In a so-called synod he procured the election of his anti-pope, who was consecrated and enthroned by two Lombard bishops. After this ceremony Henry received from Guibert the crown of the empire.

But in the meanwhile the Saxons and Swabians had elected Herrmann count of Salm to succeed the deceased king Rudolf. He was crowned at Goslar, by Siegfried archbishop of Mentz; but his authority was too confined and his power too weak to withstand the great contest, which was now divided into particular factions. To avoid the increasing miseries, many persons fled into cloisters, and the abbeys were now filled with warriors and noblemen, who, as lay-brothers, willingly performed the lowest offices of the community. No better was the state of Italy, where, according to the expression of a contemporary, the cardinal Deusdedit, Henry and his instrument Guibert renewed the persecu-

tion of Nero. All who would not embrace their party or hold communion with them, were maltreated or plundered: from the bishoprics, churches, and abbeys, the Catholic priests were expelled and replaced by vicious and ignorant men, who were again exchanged for others, through favour, policy, or bribery. During this and the following year, no less than ninety thousand men were reduced to the greatest extremities or put to death by Henry and his coadjutors.*

A conference between the archbishops of Salzburg and Magdeburg on the one side, and the archbishops of Bremen, Mentz, Treves, Cologne, and the bishop of Utrecht on the other, which was opened, in January 1085, at Berkach on the Werra, led to no results. The schismatical bishops, therefore, convened a synod at Mentz, to which the Catholics opposed the synod of Quedlinburg, where the papal legate Otho of Ostia, Gebhard of Salzburg, Hartwig of Magdeburg, with eight bishops and the delegates of the bishop of Wurzburg and Worins, Gebhard of Constance and Wigold of Augsburg, declared with relation to the negotiations of Berkach that the sentence of the papal see was so decisive that other persons could not presume to judge it; they condemned, as erroneous, the assertion made at Berkach by the archbishop of Mentz, that a temporal prince could not be condemned by the Church, as long as he was not in full possession of his dignities. The archbishop had applied to the king the canon which proscribed this restitution in the case of bishops. Finally, Henry's bishops, with the anti-pope, his cardinals, and those who had been ordained by excommunicated prelates, Seguin of Cologne and Engelbert of Treves, were excommunicated. These prelates, namely, the three Rhenish archbishops and sixteen bishops, assembled at Mentz, whither Guibert sent his legates, and declared the bishops of Salzburg, Mentz, Worms and Wurzburg deposed; they elected others in their places,

* See the fragment of the cardinal Deusdedit, from a Roman manuscript, published by Saccarelli, xxii. 179.

and condemned king Herrmann as guilty of high-treason, and as an enemy to the peace of the Church.

But in Rome, great changes had now taken place. A few weeks after the coronation of Guibert, he and Henry, alarmed by the intelligence of the march of Robert Guiscard, fled from the city. The Norman army entered and liberated the pope from the castle of St. Angelo, but was guilty of excesses and of extreme cruelties, and committed acts of desolation that surpassed even those of the early barbarians. At Salerno, Gregory held his last synod, in which he renewed the anathema against Henry. Oppressed by the weight of his solicitude for the Church and of the misfortunes that had fallen upon him—for he was doomed to survive the apostacy of two men, who had stood near him, the bishop of Porto and his chancellor Peter—he published his last appeal to Christendom, the testament left by him to the Church. “All,” he said, “all have risen and conspired against us, only because we would no longer be silent amidst the threatening dangers of the Church; only because we would no longer endure the attempts to reduce the Church into a state of servitude. Everywhere it is permitted to the poorest woman to unite herself, according to the laws of her country and according to her own will, with a man as her husband; but to the Church alone, the bride of God and our mother, it is forbidden to remain united with her bridegroom upon earth. Could we permit that heretics, adulterers and intruders should subject to themselves the sons of the Church, and should cast upon her the scandals of their own conduct?”

On his death-bed, he recommended the abbot Desiderius, the bishops, Otho of Ostia, Hugo of Lyons and Anselm of Lucca, as the men most worthy to succeed him. He then implored the cardinals and the bishops who surrounded his couch, to remind him of all the failings and errors which he had committed during his pontificate, and made them promise that they would not receive Henry and Guibert into the communion of the

Church until they gave proofs of their repentance, and had performed penance for their offences. With the exception of these and other chiefs of their faction, he absolved all from censure. His last words were, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore do I die in a foreign land."

Gregory VII has been often accused of the design of establishing an universal monarchy over all Christian kingdoms, and of reducing all Christian kings to the condition of vassals of the papal see. We can indeed imagine that an elevated spirit, as was that of Gregory, confined within the circle of the then existing ideas, should consider the relations which sprung from the feudal system, as the only possible, or at that period the only feasible, form of union of the Church with the state, and should, therefore, have cast off the feudal dependence of the Church upon the power of kings, as an intolerable yoke; but should at the same time have considered subjection of kings to the throne of St. Peter to have been, particularly in the existing order of things, according to nature and most desirable. It cannot, however, be proved that Gregory did in fact entertain these views, or advance these pretensions. He appears to have proceeded to the greatest length, when after the death of Rudolf he commissioned the bishop of Passau to propose to the newly-elected king of the Germans a form of oath by which he promised fidelity and obedience to the Roman see, and pledged himself to become the knight (*miles*) of the pope, by placing, at their first interview, his hands within the hands of the pope. This might be so interpreted as if the king had become the vassal of the pope—this was generally signified by the word *miles*—and Gregory himself seems to have thought that this interpretation might be given, wherefore he empowered his legate to change or to omit in the oath whatever might give offence. But, as it is evident from the words preceding this part of the oath, the pope understood by the *militia* (military service) no more than the duty to protect the person of

the pope, the Roman Church, its rights and possessions.* The king swore to him fidelity and protection as Otho I had to pope John XII, and Henry II to Benedict VIII, and vowed obedience to him as it became every Christian, to the successor of Peter. Had the pope intended to form a feudal relation between Germany and its king and the see of Rome, he must have required that the king should receive the investiture of his kingdom from his hands, as Robert Guiscard had been invested by him with the possession of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. But of this Gregory had no idea.

Over France Gregory made no pretensions to feudal sovereignty: he confined himself to the demand that a penny should be paid by every house as a contribution to the apostolic see, which then stood in the greatest need of such assistance. In making this demand, he asserted that Charlemagne had permitted a similar contribution to be levied on three parts of his kingdom. Gregory sought and obtained the same from William the Conqueror in England, where the payment of the Peter-pence had been for some time interrupted. The other demand of the papal legate, that the king would take an oath of fidelity to the pope, during the schism and the obstinate contest against the laws of the Church, was rejected by William, as an innovation. It is probable that his suspicious mind saw in this demand an intended limitation of the power with which he despotically ruled the Church and the bishops of his kingdom. The pope obtained from England, as from Hungary, only an ecclesiastical submission, and if he pretended to a particular right of the Roman Church over Hungary, which was derived from the grant of the regal dignity made to St. Stephen, there was in this no encroachment upon the full sovereignty of the Hungarian monarch. He rather insisted that Hungary should be a self-existing independent mo-

* As a sign of this duty, the pope presented to the king or emperor the military belt (*cingulum militare*) and the sword: this ceremony is found in the *Ceremoniale Romanum*.—See Raynaldum ad annum 1204, num. 72.

narchy, and not a feudal province of Germany. He expressed himself in the same manner with regard to Spain. He asserted that this kingdom, before its subjugation by the Saracens, had been tributary to St. Peter and to the Roman Church, and had belonged peculiarly to it. Before the exaltation of Gregory, a count Ebulo of Recajo had obtained authority from the pope to bear arms against the Saracens in Spain, on the condition that he should subject, by the payment of a yearly tribute, all his conquests to the authority of the Roman Church. Ramiro king of Arragon and Navarre placed himself under the superiority of the pope, and paid to Gregory an annual tribute. But neither in the demand of the pope nor in the acts of the king was a vassalage instituted, as we may learn both from the letters of Gregory to the Spanish monarchs, in which he speaks only of the general obedience and fidelity which was due to the see of Rome, and also from the fact that other kings of the peninsula made their nation tributary, through particular devotion to other churches and to cloisters, such as Cluny and Clairvaux. Neither this, nor that paid to Gregory, partook of the nature of feudal tribute, but was a sign of an especial devotion, veneration, and of entire submission to the ecclesiastical authority of the Roman see. The annual tax which Demetrius king of Croatia and Dalmatia vowed in 1076 to pay to the Roman Church, was on the contrary a real feudal tribute, for the pope had granted to this duke the title of king, and in an assembly at Salona had invested him by his legates with the standard, sceptre, sword and crown.*

* Such are the acts that have obtained for this great pontiff, from writers of our country—historians(?), reviewers, and play-writers—the appellations of *haughty tyrant*, *proud hypocrite*, *ambitious priest*, and even *murderer*. He has, however, found defenders, not only amongst Catholics, but also amongst Protestants. We will venture to quote a passage from a work which every Catholic scholar ought to have diligently studied: “The Catholic view ought to appear at least as the grandest of all those that have ever illumined the human race. In every order of things it has left a footstep, a giant trace, a trace which the world adores, and which future generations will never

SECTION II.

CONTINUATION.—CONTROVERSY AMONGST WRITERS.

VICTOR III.—URBAN II.—PASCHAL II.*

Not only by the sword but by the pen also, in epistles and in more extensive works, was fought the mighty contest which now engaged the mind of all, and which

equal. In poesy it made a Dante, the Homer of the soul and of the world of spirits, as the other was for the world of bodies. In art it made a Michael Angelo; and we do not speak of that common herd of great men, that crowd of illustrious geniuses, mixed together like the luminous souls in the glorious garlands of Dante, each of whom would have graced a world. In the conduct of nations it produced those two great names, which still, in spite of the aberration of ages, represent the poles on which European society revolves, Charlemagne and GREGORY VII, and the third ideal, in which the fusion of that double genius was realised—St. Louis. Gregory VII, Charlemagne, and St. Louis, and by them the most beautiful social edifice that ever existed; the grandest, the most holy federation, that which comprised the greatest number of nations, that which was of all others the most fruitful in every kind of glory. The Greek federation lasted scarcely two centuries, and they were stormy and uncertain. The union of nations under the Roman despotism endured longer, but its end was more dishonourable and more bloody. The Christian republic endured at least for ten centuries; and in spite of the decay of the principle which gave it birth, nothing but a return to barbarism can wholly overthrow it.”—*MORES CATHOLICI; OR, AGES OF FAITH.* By H. K. Digby, Esq. Book viii. p. 353. (Transl.)

* Bernoldi *Opuscula Varia*, in *Ussermannii Monum. Alemann.* tom. ii.; S. Gebhardi, Archiep. Salisburg. *Epist. ad Hermannum, episc. Metensem* (of the year 1081), in *Tengonagel, Vet. Monum. contra Schismaticos*, Ingolst. 1612; S. Anselmi Ep. *Lucensis contra Guibertum Antipapam, pro Greg. VII, libri ii.* in *Biblioth. Max. PP.*, tom. xviii.; Manegoldi *Opusculum contra Wolfelmum* (about 1099), in *Muratorii Anecd.* iv. 167; Placidi Nonantulani Prioris, *Liber de Honore Ecclesiæ* (in the year 1111), in *Pezii Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. ii. p. ii.; Godofredi, Abb. *Vindocinens* (1093-1132), *Opuscula* in *Biblioth. Max. PP.* tom. xxi.; Theodorici Ep. *Virdunens* (Wernerici Ep. *Vercellensis*) *Epistola ad Gregor. VII*, in *Martene, Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 214; Waltrami Ep. *Nurnburgenis, Liber de Unitate Ecclesiæ conservanda* (of the year 1093) in *Freheri Scriptt. Rer. Germ.* tom. i.; *Fragments in the Codex Udalrici Epistolaris*, in *Eccard.* tom. ii.; *On Pope Victor III, Petri Diaconi, Chronicon Monaster. Cassin.* in *Muratorii, SS. Rer. Ital.* tom. iv.

agitated the half of Europe. Many were the defenders of the power of the Church and of the rights of the papal see; but there were not wanting men who supported the pretensions of the king, or who undertook the cause of the married clergy. Of the latter class, many were pleading their own causes. Such were the ecclesiastics of the dioceses of Cambrai and Noyon, who in two works, in the year 1076, bitterly complained of the usurpation of the Romans, who by the legate Hugo endeavoured to interrupt their marriages and to forbid them to possess more than one prebend, whilst (as they had families to maintain and to provide for) they could scarcely subsist upon two or three. In like manner the clergy of Cambrai complained of their bishop, who would no longer ordain their sons priests, and would no more, on account of their marriages, employ them at the altar. The defenders of the marriages of priests, besides some passages from the Old Testament and the discipline of the ancient law, employed in their cause the history of Paphnutius bishop of Nice, which, however, Bernold before had proved to be apocryphal. An anonymous writer has painted in strong colours the commotion of the people against the married clergy, excited by the first ordinance of Gregory.*

In the controversy on investitures, the principal question was, whether the freedom of canonical elections should be restored, or whether the king should continue to nominate the bishops. Henry IV and his son prized the practice of investitures only as it was a means of placing in bishoprics and in abbeys, according to their own caprice, men who would serve as instruments to further their designs. Should the investiture be confined to the mere grant of the feudal rights to the elected and consecrated bishops, it would retain indeed its signification, by according to the bishops or abbots their feudal relations to the king; but for kings such as were the two Henries, it would have lost its real value:

* In Martene, *Thesaurus Anecd.* i. 255.

the dependence and unconditional personal devotion of the bishops and abbots, their immediate influence over churches and cloisters, would to them be lost. Henry IV refused therefore to co-operate in the labours of Gregory, who wished to modify his laws against investitures, according to the just pretensions of the king. Gregory and the defenders of the Church founded their objection to investitures chiefly on the canon of the eighth general council; which prohibited to all temporal powers interference in the election of bishops, and placed an anathema on all who should prevent the freedom of election. The pope, moreover, asserted that he insisted upon nothing that was new, nothing of his own invention, but wished only to restore the ancient doctrine and discipline of the Church. St. Anselm, in his writings, speaks only of canonical elections, and never once mentions investitures, which, as separate from the vital question of the Church, he considered as something accessory. But investitures were connected not only with the question of free elections; they were united also as intimately with that of simony. Those who thought with the Church were convinced that as long as investitures continued, the extirpation of simony, of the more gross as well as of the more refined, which consisted of the grant of ecclesiastical benefices by favour, for services performed or to be performed (*munus ab obsequio, a linguá, a manu*), could never be effected. Placidus and Anselm describe the intrigues of the aspirants to these benefices. They tell us how they lived at the court at a great expense for ten or more years, awaiting with impatience the death of a bishop or abbot, and how afterwards they became the timid and blind instruments of the great men by whose favour they had obtained their dignities; further, how as bishops they repaid themselves the money which they had expended in acquiring their bishoprics, by the sale of ordinations; and how the priests on their part, to preserve their own fortune, bartered away the sacraments. In many countries, it was the practice to sell the smaller churches to clerics, to laymen, and even to

women ; and when the sellers were reprov'd, they answered, that they sold not the churches, but the lands and revenues which belonged to them.

Amongst the followers of the king there were many who asserted that he was free to dispose at pleasure of the churches in his kingdom ; that they were his ; that he or his predecessors had made them what they were ; that they must therefore serve him, and could have no other superiors than those whom he appointed. These were the representations which Adelbert of Bremen and other court favourites made to the young Henry. With confidence did they appeal to the anointing, by which the king at his coronation received a kind of spiritual character, and in virtue of which he could dispose of bishoprics and abbeys. Those who were less blinded by party spirit made frequent reference to the pretended privilege granted by pope Adrian to king Charles and his successors, to nominate to the bishoprics of his kingdom. They pleaded also that many holy men had, without opposition, received investitures, or they distinguished between the temporalties of the Church which the kings granted by investitures, and the spiritual power of the consecration, which could be given only by the Church. But the defenders of the Church opposed to this reasoning, that this distinction was never in reality observed ; for at the time of investiture it was not said, “ receive the lands of these churches,” but always, “ receive these churches,” a remark that had before been made by St. Peter Damian. This distinction, it was further argued, could not be followed through ; for in the Church the spiritual and the temporal were united, like body and soul, and could not be separated and torn asunder ; as by this division, instead of the one entrance into the ministry, spoken of by Christ, two would be opened. Moreover, as investiture was the determining act upon which consecration depended, for the one necessarily followed the other, and if, as it now generally happened, the king were induced by the impure motives of favour or of interest to grant investiture, he thereby profaned the consecra-

tion, which was determined by investiture, and which could not possibly impart the Holy Ghost, or produce the true sacramental effects. Again, simony was declared unlawful and to be rejected, as by this act (investiture) the king granted that which was thought to belong to him, and which the receiver could possess only through him, and consequently through a right of property vested in him over the goods of the Church : now the goods of the Church had been devoted irrevocably and for ever, not to the bishop, who was only the temporary administrator, but to God and to his saints, and could not therefore be granted to each bishop and to each abbot, as were revocable feudal rights, by a new investiture. This reply was so far just; for investiture, as it was then practised, was in fact an invasion, not only of the freedom of election, but also of the rights of the Church ; for the king could in reality grant investiture only of the feudal rights of the empire. The peculiar patrimony of the Church, which consisted principally of presents and of inheritances of allodial goods, could become a subject of investiture only by usurpation ; and for this reason also it was acknowledged, according to the ideas of the times, that the episcopacy itself was imparted by investiture, and that it was only in later times, when men were driven to defend investitures, that they had recourse to the above-named distinction.

The symbols, by which investiture was given, the ring and the crosier, served to confirm the idea of its signification. It was manifest to every one that investiture by the known symbols of spiritual ministry and of pastoral authority, which must always precede consecration, could not be a grant of the rights of the empire, or of the temporalities of the see, and it was believed, that when he, who had been nominated bishop, had received his crosier and ring, through the investiture of the monarch, the subsequent delivery of these insignia by the metropolitan at the time of ordination, was no more than a ceremony. The king it

was, therefore, who made the bishop and granted him his powers. Would it not be intolerable, asked Placidus, if any one should presume to invest a priest with his prebend, by delivering to him his sacred vestments and stole? In the case of bishops and of abbots it was only custom which had made men indifferent to the unnatural and perverse practice of royal investitures with the ring and crosier. Hence the abbot Godfrey of Vendôme declared that to receive investiture from a laic was simoniacal and heretical, both because laymen had in view only their own temporal interest and the subjection to themselves of the bishops, and because the ring and crosier were signs of power which laymen could not impart. He admitted, however, that investiture which the king granted to the elected and consecrated bishop, to ensure him the enjoyment of his revenues, and of the royal protection and assistance, might be permitted. Ivo bishop of Chartres, who had been invested by the king, wrote, at first, in favour of investitures, as they were at that time practised in France, which was generally without the violation of freedom of election; but at a later period he expressed his conviction that pope Paschal II must have withdrawn the approval which was extorted from him, when in captivity, even of this species of investiture. Waltram also, bishop of Naumburg, who was probably the author of the book, *On the Unity of the Church*, and who defended with a spirit of animosity against the papal see the practice of investiture, and in general, the cause of Henry IV, changed his sentiments, and became a declared adherent of pope Paschal.

But, asked the defenders of the king, was the sovereign, who was the head of the people, to be entirely excluded from the election of the bishops? Were the bishops to be totally independent of the king, and was the Church to form a self-existing state within the state? He might, answered their opponents, take a part in the election as the son of the Church, not as its lord, to protect, not to annihilate, the freedom of

election. The bishops were, moreover, to be subject to him in all civil duties as others were, who were not in a state of immediate vassalage to him.

That the deposition of Henry IV was a natural consequence of his entire exclusion from the communion of the Church,—that a king who was no longer a member of the Church, could no longer be the head of a Christian monarchy, and could no longer hold the government over a Christian people, appears to have been acknowledged by many of Henry's partisans. But whilst they denied the justice of his deprivation, they denied the justice also of his excommunication. They asserted, as did the bishop Sigebert in the epistle which he addressed to pope Paschal II, in the name of the clergy of Liege, that the excommunication was invalid, as kings had no judge upon earth, and that judgment upon them was reserved to Christ. To refute this by arguments drawn from the sacred Scripture and from history was not difficult to the writers who defended the Church. They appealed principally to the acts of St. Ambrose against the emperor Theodosius; but for the consequences which Gregory drew from the excommunication pronounced against Henry, precedents could not be found in early history; and here all, even Gregory himself, found themselves in embarrassment. They might have thought, but they could not prove, in their want of historical references, that the Church in earlier times was in a different position relatively to the state, which was then pagan, and that a kingdom, such as was the German, raised entirely upon the basis of the Christian religion, had in a certain sense sprung from the Church, and was united with the Church by the most indissoluble bands, and could not be governed by a king who wilfully lived in a state of excommunication, and who conducted himself as a public enemy of the Church.

The contemners of the ecclesiastical laws knew well, however, to distinguish, that every excommunication which had been incurred by a public offence, did not necessarily draw with it the forfeiture of the regal dignity, nor dissolve the civil bond between the people

and their sovereign ; and that only an excommunication, which was pronounced in consequence of obstinate rebellion against the Church, of heresy, or of a schism in the Church, rendered the king, who thus violated his first and most holy pledge, which he had sworn at his coronation, to preserve religion in all its purity, and to protect the Church, incapable of ruling a Catholic Christian people. It was thus that Stephen bishop of Halberstadt expressed himself in his letter to Waltram. But more vehemently than against the deposition of their king, did the defenders of the royal cause declare against one of its consequences, the absolution of the people from their oath of fidelity to the sovereign. Their ideas of the force and obligations of this oath were not precise, and it appears to have been a kind of worldly feudal respect, rather than a religious conscientious feeling, which induced many bishops to sacrifice to this oath all other things, even those which they should have considered the most holy ; they viewed themselves as the liege men of the king, and forgot that at the same time they were servants of the Church. Many hesitated not openly to declare that they had no other pope than the emperor ; and Gebhard of Salzburg reproached them, that they would rather incur the guilt of the greatest crimes, than violate their pledge of fidelity ; and that they, who at their ordination, before the altar and before an assembly of the Church, had vowed obedience and subjection to the pope, broke this oath only that they might observe another, which they had sworn to the king in his palace ; and yet, he added, the bishops had sworn, could swear, nothing but that which they could perform in accordance with the duties of their state (*salvo ordine*). Lastly, against the often-repeated assertion of the Henryists, that the Church had not the power to absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity, the defenders of the apostolic see could easily reply, that as the judgment upon the duration of the obligation of an oath was not left to the arbitration of individuals, the Church, in virtue of its power of binding and of loosing, possessed authority under certain circum-

stances to declare, that the oath of obedience, by the observance of which the Christian would be brought into conflict with higher Divine precepts, ceased to bind, and that on account of its importance this decision was reserved to the supreme head of the Church. St. Anselm excellently remarked, that the signification of the oath was, that the fidelity which was sworn to man drew its obligatory force from that fidelity which was due to God, for nothing was proclaimed by the oath more than this, "In virtue of that fidelity which I owe to God, I will be faithful to man." If, therefore, the obedience sworn to man conflicted with that which was due to God, the former must necessarily lose its force of obligation.

The deep feeling of vehemence, with which the great contest for the liberation and purification of the Church was at this period carried on, caused the character of Gregory VII to be loaded with outrage and calumny, which by their violence refuted themselves. Thus has his character been represented to us by Benzo bishop of Alba, in his panegyric of Henry IV, and by the cardinal Benno, in a work which he calls a biography of Gregory VII. More temperate antagonists, such as the author of the work which bears the name of Dietrich bishop of Verdun, have been more just to his memory ; and the last-named writer testifies that Gregory was so little influenced by ambition and the love of power, that he sought to avoid by flight the dignity of supreme pontiff. They also cannot have understood his character, who pourtray him as a great political statesman, who held in his hand the threads of a finely spun web, and who studied with artful calculation to effect his deeply meditated designs. He was, even on the papal throne, a devout monk, severe to himself as to others ; penetrated with the idea of his high station, and of the duties which it imposed upon him ; filled with horror at the corruption of his age ; firm as a rock in his unconquerable conviction of the necessity and justice of his undertakings, and in the confidence that God would free his Church from its then most hopeless condition, and that, sooner or later,

that which had been begun by the popes and by their friends, would be brought to the desired end. Hence he was heedless of the consequences which might follow from his attempts.

At the death of Gregory, the papal see was thrown into a state of uncertainty. Henry and Guibert had even in Rome a powerful party; northern Italy was entirely, central Italy was in part, devoted to their interest; the margravine Matilda was the only person who was purely and inseparably devoted to the cause of the Church. Robert Guiscard, who however died soon after Gregory, went only so far as his own interest would carry him. Nearly all voices were united to elect as successor to Gregory, Desiderius abbot of Monte Cassino, who for twenty-eight years, and in the most difficult circumstances, had been papal legate, who as abbot possessed cities and castles, and who by this means and by the friendship of the princes of Capua and Salerno and of the Norman duke Roger, could bring with him to the Roman see that material support and that protection of arms, of which it then stood in extreme need. But Desiderius pleaded his weak health as his excuse, not to take upon himself the heavy burden of the papacy: even after he had been conducted to Rome and had been clothed with the papal robes, he returned to his cloister and persevered in his refusal of the unwelcome dignity. But finally, in a synod at Capua, in the year 1087, he yielded to the earnest prayers of the assembled prelates and princes, and returned with them to Rome, where Guibert had in the meantime established himself with his followers. It was therefore necessary to employ the arms of the Normans to obtain a church, in which the new pope, who took the name of Victor III, might be consecrated. In August 1087, he held a synod at Beneventum, in which he renewed the condemnation of the antipope, and excommunicated Hugo archbishop of Lyons, and the cardinal Richard abbot of Marseilles. These two zealots would not recognize him as pope, because he had promised the imperial crown to king Henry,

and had declared blessed some of the deceased adherents of Guibert. In the case of Hugo, who had at first consented to the election of Victor, disappointed ambition seems to have had a share.

Six months after the death of Victor, who died in March 1088, the cardinals followed his recommendation, and elected at Terracina Otho bishop of Ostia, a Frenchman, who had been archdeacon of Auxerre, then a monk and prior of Cluny, from which place he had been called to Rome and created cardinal, by Gregory VII. Urban II, immediately after his election, announced in a circular letter that he intended to tread in the footsteps of Gregory; he exhorted by his legates all princes and people to unite in the earnest defence of the oppressed Church. He then proceeded to Rome, but as the city was in the power of the antipope, he was necessitated to reside in a private house on the island of the Tiber, and—so deprived of all resources was then the papal see—to subsist upon the alms of the faithful.

In Germany, the religious and civil war continued to rage with all its ancient fury. King Herrmann retired from Saxony, where he possessed but little authority, into Lorraine, where he died in 1088. Henry strengthened his power, although he was defeated in two battles near Wurzburg and Gleichen, and obtained money and devoted vassals, by the sale of bishoprics, to such an extent that nearly all the Catholic prelates were obliged to seek safety in flight from their churches. Great and general as was the desire for a permanent peace, yet the assemblies of princes at Oppenheim and Spire led to no results, as Henry refused the conditions that were proposed to him,—the surrender of the antipope, and his reconciliation with the Church. For the men whom he had forced upon the German Church, and upon whom his chief support reposed, readily fought his battles at the head of their troops, served him in all things, as obedient instruments, as long as their own places were not endangered, and violently opposed themselves to any peace with the pope, from whom they could expect

nothing but immediate deprivation. Urban named Gebhard bishop of Constance, and the aged Altmann bishop of Passau, as his legates, and marked out the three degrees of censure against Guibert and Henry, against the counsellors of both, particularly against such ecclesiastics as should receive ecclesiastical dignities from them or from their false bishops, and against all who by their intrigues prevented those who would easily have returned to the communion of the Church.

The party of the Church suffered during this year serious losses, by the death of its chief supporters, Gebhard bishop of Salzburg, Herrmann of Metz, Altmann of Passau, and Adalbert of Wurzburg; but they were replaced by men who inherited their sentiments. The citizens of Metz and of Constance drove from their cities the venal mercenaries whom Henry wished to intrude upon them as bishops, and the three sees of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, separated themselves from their schismatical metropolitan, Egilbert of Treves.

In like manner, the preponderance of the parties varied in Italy. A marriage between Matilda and Guelf, the son of the duke of Bavaria, which was promoted by the pope, and which should have strengthened the party of those that were favourable to the Church, failed in its object; for when Guelf discovered that the extensive possessions of his consort, which Matilda had already willed to the see of Rome, were not to fall to him, he separated himself from her. For the third time Henry descended with an army into Italy in 1090, and fought with varying success against the power of Matilda, whilst Guibert, who had been a short time before expelled by the Romans, again obtained possession of the city. But now Henry forfeited even the remnant of personal respect which the world had retained for him. His own son Conrad, who had been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1087, an amiable, pious, and universally-respected prince, abandoned the cause of his father, and was crowned king of Italy at Monza, by Anselm archbishop of Milan, who had recently passed over to the party of the pope. At the same time, the cities of Milan,

Cremona, Piacenza, and Lodi, formed a confederation for twenty years against Henry. Soon after this time he was forsaken by his second wife Praxedes, a Russian princess, who related before the synod of Piacenza the iniquities of her husband, and the cruelties which he had inflicted upon her : she then retired into a convent. In 1095, Urban was able to hold a synod, at which were assembled four thousand ecclesiastics and thirty thousand laics, in the country where the party of Henry and Guibert had hitherto ruled uncontrolled, and under the eyes of their confederates, who were at Verona—at Piacenza, where, in 1098, the bishop Bonizo had been cruelly murdered by the Guibertists. In this synod, the laws of the Church against simony and the marriage of clergy, and also the sentence against Guibert and his followers were renewed. Urban then made the first movement to an undertaking, of which the necessity had long been felt, and with the designs of which Gregory VII had already engaged himself. Peter the Hermit, by his impassioned sermons, and by his descriptions of the sufferings of the Christians in the Holy Land and of the degradation of the holy sepulchre, had begun to arouse the people of Italy and France. The pope then introduced the ambassadors of the Greek emperor Alexius ; they implored assistance against the power and cruelties of the Turks, who were then threatening even the west : many princes there and then vowed to carry protection to the Christians of Palestine. Urban held another synod at Clermont in France, which was attended by two hundred and eighteen bishops, and abbots, together with a countless multitude of seculars of high and low degree. The bishops Thiemo of Salzburg, Ulrich of Passau, and Gebhard of Constance, were present from Germany. Here the eloquent appeal of the pope and the inflamed address of Peter the Hermit awakened in the minds of the assembled numbers that unparalleled excitement of soul, which first burst forth in the unanimous exclamation, “It is the will of God !” which was continued by the numberless crusade sermons throughout the countries of the

south-west of Europe, and which led the mighty armies of the first crusade into Asia, to the conquest of Nice, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The synod decreed, that to every one who through pure devotion, not through a love of glory or of gold, should proceed to Jerusalem, for the liberation of the Church of God, this expedition should take the place of all canonical penance.

Investitures were also prohibited at Clermont, and with the new and severe addition, that no bishop or priest should swear feudal fidelity in the hands of a king or any other layman. Strong motives induced the pope to publish this ordinance, which even in the most favourable circumstances would have been difficult of execution. To the homage or oath of feudal fidelity which bishops and abbots swore to the king or feudal lord, an interpretation was given, which, by progressive but sure degrees, destroyed the authority of the Church, broke the band between the supreme head of the Church and the bishops, and left the bishops as instruments only of the policy of their royal masters. The clergy of Liege, therefore, declared that they could not absolutely blame their bishop if he were entirely dependant upon his feudal lord, to whom he had sworn fealty. When the legate of Gregory VII, Hugo de Die, entered France, with the commission to labour for the amelioration of the state of the Church, king Philip prevented the bishops from attending a synod that had been convoked, as he declared that to be present at such an assembly would be to violate the oath of fidelity which they had sworn to him. Hugo was therefore compelled to hold his synods in provinces not subject to Philip. When Ivo bishop of Chartres boldly reprehended the adulterous marriage of the king, he was accused of perjury, of a violation, that is, of his homage. In this same year, Urban was informed by his legates who had returned from England, that William Rufus had required of his bishops, in virtue of their oath of fidelity to him, that they should not recognise Urban as pope, or enter into any connexion with him, as he deemed it more conducive to his political designs to

leave the affair undecided. Hence, at Clermont, it was the wish of the prelate to dissolve an union that was in every manner so prejudicial to the Church : between the bishops and their sovereigns, it was wished to introduce, instead of the former close bond of vassalage, the general obligation of subjection to feudal lords.

The army of French crusaders drove the antipope from Rome, and thus opened the way to the city for Urban, in 1096. Henry, after a seven years' fruitless conflict with the power and resolution of Matilda, abandoned Italy, never to return ; and Guibert, now confined to Ravenna, lost the greater part of the exarchate, which fell again to Urban. Still the party of Henry and Guibert retained its power in Rome, and whilst Urban resided in the south of Italy, a number of Guibertists, amongst whom was the cardinal Benno, met in synod, where they condemned "the heresies devised by Hildebrand," and cast into the flames the decrees of the last popes. These same decrees were renewed and confirmed in a numerous synod which was held in Rome, during the following year by Urban. A few months later the pontiff died, after he had invested with legatine power over the Church of Sicily, Roger, count of the island, with the promise, that as long as he, or any of his heirs, zealous as he was for the welfare of the Church, should live, no other legate should be appointed in Sicily. The cardinal Rainer, who had been a monk of Cluny, after earnest opposition from himself, was elected to succeed, and took the name of Paschal II. When Guibert, who had more than once repented of his assumption of the papal title, died in 1100, his followers, in a brief space of time, elected three antipopes. The first and second, Albert and Theodoric, fell into the hands of the Catholics, and were placed in monasteries ; the third, Reginulf, was, in 1105, while Paschal was absent, conducted to Rome by Count Werner, who ruled in the march of Ancona, and enthroned. But his faction soon dissolved ; he was compelled to fly, and died in exile. Paschal soon found himself sufficiently supported to deprive by degrees the Guibertists of all

their towns and castles in the neighbourhood of Rome. In a synod which was held in the Lateran, in 1101, the prohibitions of investitures and of homage, and the censures against Henry, were renewed ; it was also ordained that every bishop should, at his consecration, vow obedience to the apostolic see, and condemn the error that was then maintained by many defenders of the temporal authority, that men need not heed the censures or binding power of the Church.

In Germany, the long continuance of the contest had produced a degree of exhaustion, which brought both parties nearer together, and which, on the whole, strengthened the power of the king, which had been increased by the junction of the duke Guelf to his party. In 1097, at a diet at Mentz, Henry procured the nomination of his younger son, named also Henry, as his successor. By this act, his elder son Conrad was excluded from the succession : he died at Florence, in 1101. The young Henry was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1099. In this, and in the following years, Henry was master of almost all the bishoprics of his kingdom, although some individual conscientious men, such as Otho of Bamberg, Bruno of Treves, submitted against their will to investiture, and afterwards tendered their resignation to the pope, should he not pardon them. Henry himself gave appearances of a serious desire to restore peace to the Church ; he gave signs of repentance, and caused it to be published that it was his intention to resign the government to his son, and to lead a crusade to Palestine ; he accused himself in a letter to Hugo abbot of Cluny, as the author of all the miseries of the Church, and vowed to do all in his power to arrest the schism ; but these were no more than empty promises. The severest stroke now fell upon him,—the infidelity of his only son, whom he had a short time before raised to the throne. The young Henry, ambitious of power, and encouraged by his companions, suddenly abandoned his father in December 1104, under the pretext that he was excommunicated by the Church. The Bavarians

and the Saxons soon after joined him, and Paschal, to whom he sent an embassy with promises of obedience, commissioned Gebhard bishop of Constance to absolve him from his censures, which he had incurred by his participation in the schism, and also to declare invalid the oath by which he had sworn to abstain from every act of government during the life of his father. In an assembly of the Saxon and Thuringian clergy at Nordhausen, in 1105, at which Rothard archbishop of Mentz presided, the bishops of Hildesheim, Halberstadt, and Paderborn, prayed for absolution from their censures. The canons of the Church against simony and clerogamy were renewed; the schismatical bishops who had been invested by Henry were declared intruders, and the synod decreed that all those ecclesiastics, who had been consecrated by the false bishops, should be admitted to penance by the imposition of hands. The young Henry, by his solemn and repeated asseverations that he desired of his father nothing but the restoration of peace to the Church, and reconciliation with the papal see, obtained many followers. Even the princes, who still adhered to the aged king, manifested an inclination to appeal to the decision of the sword, and the son contrived by intrigue and hypocrisy to bring his father into his power. Henry had, a short time before, offered the last insult to the German Church, by intruding into the see of Ratisbon, Ulric, an inexperienced youth. At the diet of Ingelheim he acknowledged himself guilty of the crimes imputed to him; he declared himself unworthy of the government which he now ceded to his son. He at the same time promised to submit to the ordinances of the pope and of the Church. Henry V was crowned in January 1106. An honourable embassy, which consisted of the archbishops of Treves and Magdeburg, of the bishops of Bamberg, Eichstadt, of Constance, and of Chur, with many secular nobles, proceeded to the pope to invite him into Germany to regulate the affairs of the Church; but the greater part of the embassy was seized on the road by the friends of Henry IV. This aged king had in the

meantime escaped from his son. On the Rhine and in Belgium he found powerful adherents, and a new civil war was about to burst forth, but was arrested by the sudden death of Henry IV at Liege, in August 1106. Thus died, after a reign of fifty years, the unworthy son of the great Henry III. His contemporaries and posterity can bear no other testimony to him, than that during this long period he employed the rich gifts with which nature had endowed him, only to his own injury, to the devastation of his kingdom, to the desolation of the Church, and to the ruin of many thousands of his fellow-creatures.

SECTION III.

RENEWAL OF THE CONTEST.—HENRY V AGAINST
PASCHAL II.—GELASIUS II.—NEW SCHISM.
CALIXTUS II.—CONCORDAT OF WORMS.*

TOWARDS the end of the year 1106, Paschal II held a great council at Guastalla, in northern Italy, at which were present the ambassadors of Henry. In this assembly the prohibition of lay-investitures was renewed; but, for the restoration of peace in the German Church, it was granted, that all bishops who had been appointed during the schism, provided that they had not been intruded and the rightful pastors expelled from their sees, that they were not simonists or stained with crime, should retain their dignities: the same was conceded with respect to other ecclesiastics, who were distinguished for their virtue and learning. The ambassadors of the king declared to Paschal that their master would honour him as a father, and repeated the invitation that he would go in person into Germany; but he de-

* Ivonis, *Episcop. Carnotensis, Epistolæ*, ed. Juretus, Paris, 1610; Petri Diaconi, *Chronicon Cassinense*, in Muratori SS. Rerr. Ital. tom. iv.; Hessonis Scholastici *Commentariolus de Gestis a. 1119, circa Investituras*, in Tengenagel, *vet. monum.* p. 329; Sugerii, *Vita Ludovici VII.*, in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, tom. xii.

ferred the journey, as his friends represented to him that the Germans would not easily abandon investitures, and that the mind of the young king was uncertain. He went therefore into France, where he was informed that Henry had invested with the ring and crozier the the two bishops Richard of Verdun and Reinhard of Halberstadt, and, contrary to his prohibition, had commanded the restoration of Udo bishop of Hildesheim. At St. Denis he implored Philip king of France and his son to assist him against the enemies of the Church and against king Henry. At Chalons he received the German delegates, the bishops of Treves, Halberstadt, and Munster, and the duke Guelf. They required from him to restore the practice of investitures; but through the bishop of Piacenza the pope answered, "the Church, which had been redeemed and made free by the blood of Christ, should not be degraded as a handmaid; but if its bishops were to be elected only according to the will of the king, if the king were to invest them with the emblems of their spiritual power, and if the prelates were to place their consecrated hands between the blood-stained hands of laymen (during the homage), this would be indeed an unworthy slavery and degradation." With the threat, that the sword should decide the contest in Rome, the ambassadors departed. The king was not content with investing the bishops, he wished also to nominate them, and he announced this to the pope, who in a synod at Troyes, in 1107, had formed new decrees for the freedom of ecclesiastical elections, with reference to the pretended privilege granted by pope Adrian to Charlemagne, and with the requisition, that in a foreign land nothing should be decided against the rights of the empire. Paschal then invited him to appear within a year at Rome, where the cause should be referred to a general council. But whilst at Troyes he suspended Rothard archbishop of Mentz, because he had consecrated Reinhard, who had received investiture from the hands of a layman, and because he had reinstated in his see Udo bishop of Hildesheim. Reinhard and Adelgot of Magdeburg after-

wards obtained a remission of their censures, as they pleaded ignorance of the last papal prohibition.

An embassy of the chiefs of the spiritual and temporal princes arrived in Rome in 1110 to demand for Henry the imperial crown. Paschal promised it if he would prove himself to the papal see to be a son and protector of the Church and a friend of justice. St. Anselm had previously warned the pope, that by his indulgence to Henry, who continued to grant investitures, he had given scandal to many, and Paschal had answered that he waited only to see whether the wild pride of the Germans would not yield. At the same time he had excommunicated, in a synod at Rome, all who should grant or receive investitures, and forbade all laymen to dispose of the goods of the Church. Henry now appeared at the head of a powerful army in Italy, and broke down all opposition. Full of trouble, the pope saw the tempest gathering around Rome, and knew of no other means of averting it than to seek the assistance of the uncertain Normans. Should he retire from Rome before the king, the king would enter and name an antipope, from whom he would receive the imperial crown; and the Church would then be thrown into a new schism. When the ambassadors whom Henry sent from Arezzo arrived in Rome, and required for their master the consent of Paschal to investitures, the straitened pontiff had recourse to an expedient, the issue of which appeared to him more easy than he afterwards found it to be. Henry in appearance willingly consented to it, and the following convention was agreed to by the plenipotentiaries of the pope and the king, at Sutri in 1111. The king on the day of his coronation should renounce all assumed rights over the ecclesiastical state, should leave the churches in full possession of all goods and oblations, which were not feudal, and should free his people from the oaths which he had compelled them to take against the bishops. The pope on his part should cede to the king all the ecclesiastical fiefs which belonged to the empire, should command the bishops to resign to the king all fiefs which had be-

longed to the empire at any time since the reign of Charles the Bald, and to forbid to them under pain of excommunication the appropriation of the rights of the empire, or the possession of cities, countships, dukedoms, seignories and other regalia. The other articles regard the patrimony of St. Peter and the personal security of the pope and of his legates.

Paschal, who had been educated in the severe discipline of the order of Cluny, hoped by this resignation of the fiefs of the empire to establish the freedom of the Church, to extirpate simony, and to lead into a more spiritual and pastoral mode of life the prelates, who had hitherto been too much distracted by worldly occupations and solitudes. The priests, as he said in his epistle to Henry, were, from servants of the court to be made servants of the altar. But Henry, who knew better than Paschal the German prelates whom he and his father had instituted, foresaw that they would resist with all their power their reduction into a state of at least relative poverty and impotence. It is probable, also, that he did not desire the fulfilment of the treaty; for, according to the constitution of the kingdom, he could not well retain in his own hands the fiefs and regalia which would fall to him, but would be obliged to invest with them temporal lords, who would employ this increase of power only to arrive at greater independence, and as arms against himself; whilst the same power in the hands of bishops and abbots, who were more devoted to the king, could be used more securely for his own purposes, the fiefs would retain their feudal character, and would not be exposed to the attempts of laymen to make them hereditary in their families. The lay nobles were unanimous with the prelates in rejecting the treaty, as they did not wish to forfeit the fiefs which they held from the bishops and abbots, nor the investitures which they had usurped over abbeys, that were not immediately subject to the empire. Henry, to attach the bishops and abbots more closely to himself, and to prove to them that the plan of purchasing the resignation of investitures by the resignation of the regalia,

came not from him, but from the pope, presented to them a document in which he solemnly confirmed all the grants and presents that had been made to the Church by his predecessors:

When after a solemn entry into Rome, and before he would proceed to the coronation, the pontiff exhorted the king to execute the treaty by resigning the investitures, the king caused the ratification to be read as an evidence that it was not he who wished to deprive the Church of its fiefs, and requested the pope to consign to him the document which regarded the resignation of the regalia. The German and Italian prelates raised, as Henry had well foreseen, the most vehement opposition: this circumstance afforded him a welcome pretext to defer the renunciation of the right of investiture, and to demand without further conditions the imperial crown. When Paschal hesitated, Henry, at the suggestion of the archbishop elect of Mentz, and of the bishop of Munster, caused him and the cardinals, together with many other ecclesiastics and Roman citizens, to be apprehended. A bloody contest between the embittered Romans and the Germans was the consequence. After three days Henry left the city with his prisoners; he placed guards over the pope in the castle of Trevico, from which place he conveyed him to his own camp, where he assailed him with incessant promises and threats. For a long time Paschal resisted every attack, but yielded, at length, through fear of a new schism, and in compassion for the miseries of the suffering Romans, and the hard lot of the many prisoners, whom Henry refused to liberate. By a treaty which was concluded in the royal camp, Paschal surrendered to the king the right of investing with their ring and crosier before ordination, bishops and abbots, who had been elected without simony, and promised never to pronounce against him sentence of excommunication, nor to revenge the injuries that had been inflicted upon himself and the cardinals, but to crown him as emperor. By the addition that disputed elections should be decided by the emperor, and that no elected person whom

he should refuse to invest, should be ordained, the government of the German Church was placed entirely in the hands of the emperor, and the fruit of so many conflicts, of the many sacrifices which had been offered by the Church, and of the many persecutions which it had endured, was lost.

As a sign of peace between himself and the pope, and between the Church and the empire, Henry received from Paschal the holy communion, and on the following day the imperial crown. He then returned into Germany, but furious contests continued to rage in Rome. The cardinals and ecclesiastics who had not been imprisoned, rejected the treaty as inadmissible and scandalous; of those who had signed it with the pope, some endeavoured to defend it, others declared it, as being compulsory, invalid. The cardinal of Tusculum, and the bishops of Segni and Vercelli, reprehended the pope in severe terms, and demanded that investitures, upon which the brand-mark of heresy had been placed by the Church, should be again condemned. Beyond Italy, also, and particularly in France, many bishops declared that the pope could not annul the decrees of so many synods without assembling another, and threatened to meet in synod to condemn the *Privilegium*, as the treaty with Henry was denominated. In his extreme difficulties, Paschal resigned the papal dignity and withdrew to the island of Ponza, near Terracina; but being recalled by the prayers of the cardinals and of the Roman people, he resumed the administration of the pontificate, declaring, however, that he would submit to the decision of a council, which should be assembled in Rome.

When the synod had met, he publicly laid down the emblems of his high rank, and was induced to receive them again only by the general invitation of all present. He then related the cause of the late events, and declared that, being bound by his oath, he could not pronounce censures against the emperor, whom he exhorted however to resign the privilege which had been extorted: he added, that he acknowledged his appro-

bation of investitures to have been illegal, and therefore retracted it. To clear himself of the suspicion of heresy, which had been raised against him, he read a profession of faith, and declared before the synod that he adhered in their full extent to the decrees of his predecessors, Gregory and Urban. The council then condemned investitures, but in regard to the pope, abstained from censures against the emperor. Not so temperate was the synod of Burgundian and French bishops, which was assembled at Vienne by the archbishop Guido, the papal legate. Here investitures were condemned as a heresy; for at this period, not only an error against faith, but an abuse which was drawn from a principle, or which was formed into a law, was comprehended under the word heresy. The emperor was excommunicated on account of the violent outrages which he had offered to the pope. Jotseran archbishop of Lyons proposed to convoke a synod for the same purpose at Ause, and requested the attendance of the bishops of the province of Sens; but they refused to come, and Ivo of Chartres composed in their name a letter to justify their refusal. It was not proper, he said, continually to propose to synods, as a subject of deliberation, that which the pope had done when under the greatest violence and to avoid the greatest evils, as it was a subject which would reflect public disgrace upon the person of the pope.

Henry V entered upon the same path which had been opened before him by his father, and similar causes produced similar effects. His reckless endeavours to extend his power gained for him the hatred of princes and of cities. He imposed an iron yoke upon the German Church; for he well knew how to avail himself of his right of investiture with all its consequences in its full extent. According to the picture of the times, which the archbishop of Cologne has given in a letter to St. Otho bishop of Bamberg, ecclesiastical authority was in the hands of the courtiers, who employed it as a source of gain: ecclesiastical affairs were discussed, not in synods, but at the court, and the pos-

sessions of the bishoprics were diverted by the regal ministers and officers into the public treasury. But Henry had now to learn that he could not fully depend upon those prelates who had to thank only himself for their dignities, and whom he thought he had bound to himself by their act of homage : the worst amongst them fell from him when their advantage or their safety seemed to require it ; and the better part, when that which they prized higher than their duties as vassals, their duty to religion and to the Church, demanded it of them. Even his confidential counsellor and chancellor Adalbert had scarcely been raised by him to the archbishopric of Mentz, before he turned against him ; or at least he incurred the suspicion of hostile attempts against Henry, by whom he was cast into prison. The intelligence that the king had been excommunicated, although not by the pope, was eagerly received and circulated. The papal legate Cuno, bishop of Præneste, pronounced the sentence against him and his adherents ; first in the synods of Beauvais and Rheims, and afterwards in the German territory, at Cologne. In the year 1115 Henry suffered a sanguinary defeat from the troops of the confederate, principally Saxon, princes, in the battle of Welfesholze. At the invitation of the Saxons the papal legate Theodoric proceeded to Goslar, and without being authorized by the pope, published the exclusion of Henry from the Church. Many bishops, by receiving the last decrees of the Church, obtained their reconciliation with the see of Rome ; and in a great synod at Cologne the excommunication of Henry was confirmed. Only a few bishops still adhered to him. In this posture of affairs Henry proceeded a second time into Italy, accompanied by the bishops of Augsburg, Munster, Constance, Brixen, and Trent, to assert his claims to the extensive property of the deceased margravine Matilda, and also to induce the pope to enter upon a new convention, and to oblige him to declare that he had not been excommunicated. But he abandoned this design when the pope, in a Roman synod of three hundred bishops, accused himself of culpable

compliance to the king, and condemned as invalid the privilegium which had been extorted from him, although he refused to sanction the sentence of the cardinal Cuno and of the delegates of the archbishop of Vienne : he however prohibited the king to exercise investitures. In 1017 Henry proceeded to Rome, under the pretext that he wished to visit the pope and to obtain from him the free confirmation of his privilegium, and on Easter Sunday he caused himself to be crowned with the imperial diadem, by Burdinus archbishop of Braga, who had been two years absent from his church : none of the cardinals would perform the act of coronation, and for this invasion of his right, Paschal excommunicated the archbishop.

After the departure of the emperor, Paschal returned to Rome in 1118, and died after a few days. To avoid foreign intrusion, the cardinals proceeded at once to an election, and their choice fell upon John of Gaeta, the chancellor of the Roman Church. Scarcely was the election terminated, when the powerful Cencio Frangipani, who was devoted to the party of the emperor, fell upon the new pope, and amidst the grossest barbarities cast him into prison. But the populace flew to arms and liberated him. Henry, enraged that a pope should have been elected without his consent, hastened back to Rome, and Gelasius II was compelled to seek refuge from the spears of the Germans, who followed him, in Gaeta, where, in presence of many bishops, cardinals, and princes of the South of Italy, he was solemnly consecrated. The emperor then sent to him a threatening embassy requiring him to swear to a peace, that is, to confirm to him the convention with Paschal ; if not, he would proceed to extremities. Gelasius answered that he was most desirous to terminate the contest between the Church and the empire, and that he would submit his case to the decision of a synod, which should be assembled at Milan or at Cremona. But to this the emperor would not consent. He had seen that in the last synod the bishops had shown more zeal than even the pope himself for the condemnation of investitures.

He, therefore, in conjunction with his partizans at Rome, and under a futile pretext that his co-operation, which was founded on the decree of Nicholas II, in the election of the new pope, had not been admitted, resolved to raise up an antipope. Burdinus, who had before been excommunicated and deposed, and who had therefore nothing to lose, undertook to act this miserable part, and assumed the name of Gregory VIII. The natural consequence of this was, that Gelasius should pronounce from Capua sentence of excommunication upon the emperor and his creature : he failed in his attempt to establish himself at Rome after the departure of Henry. He went into France, where he died at Cluny, in January 1119. He had recommended as his successor the cardinal Cuno bishop of Palestina, but the cardinal directed the election, which took place at Cluny, from himself to Guido archbishop of Vienne. Guido, who was descended from the royal house of Burgundy, was related to the emperor, to the kings of France, England and Denmark, and to him were therefore open in these connexions those sources of material assistance which was at this period so necessary for the preservation of the pontifical dignity. He named himself Calixtus II. He was universally acknowledged, whilst Burdinus was supported only by the party of the emperor.

In Germany the anathema was renewed against Henry in the synods which were held by Cuno, the papal legate at Cologne and Fritzlar, the opponents of the emperor, amongst whom the majority of the German bishops now ranged themselves, and in the front of whom was Adalbert archbishop of Mentz, who had lately been freed from imprisonment, thought of deposing him, when, returning from Italy, he again lighted up the almost extinguished flames of civil war. He consented, however, that a diet should assemble at Tribur, in which all the bishops promised obedience to Calixtus. At Strasburg the papal legates, the bishop of Châlons and Pontius the abbot of Cluny, presented themselves before Henry, and declared that the surrender of investitures was an essen-

tial condition of peace. The bishop asserted that this surrender would not cause any diminution of the services that were due to him and to the empire, and adduced in proof the example of the emperor himself; for he, without receiving investiture from the king of France, was bound to him in all that related to imposts, military service, tolls and other regalia. Henry, who appears to have reconciled himself to the idea of resigning the investitures, concluded with the papal legates, who had now been strengthened by the arrival of two cardinals, a convention, which declared that from his love to God, to the holy apostle Peter, and to pope Calixtus, he resigned all investiture, and that he gave true peace to all who belonged to the party of the Church: the pope on his side granted peace to him and to all his adherents, and all plunder was to be restored to the rightful owner. Following the papal legates, Henry, with many of his princes and bishops, swore to this convention, and promised, in the presence of the pope at Mouson, fully to observe it. Calixtus had in the meantime opened a great synod at Rheims, at which were present four hundred and twenty-seven bishops and abbots from all the kingdoms of the west; but he left the synod to proceed to Mouson, that he might seal the peace with the emperor on the strength that the convention had been concluded. Henry, to prevent the German bishops from attending the synod at Rheims, lay encamped with a powerful army in the neighbourhood of Mouson. A new embassy of cardinals and bishops came to him in his camp and exhorted him to observe the conditions of the convention; but as the approach of the pontiff, who came without attendants, seemed to have awakened within him the design of acting towards him as he had formerly acted towards Paschal, he endeavoured to amuse the legates with every kind of subterfuge. Calixtus, therefore, avoided him, and hastened back to Rheims, where, with the solemn consent of the four hundred assembled bishops, he pronounced sentence of excommunication against the faithless emperor, which sentence was accompanied by an absolution of his sub-

jects from their oath of fidelity, until the sentiments of the emperor should change. He then returned into Italy and entered Rome. The antipope, who from Sutri ruled over the Roman Campagna, exercising all kinds of cruelty upon the defenceless pilgrims, fell into his power. The soldiers conducted him to Rome in a disgraceful procession, sitting with his face reversed on a camel. After many years of solitude in the cloister of Cava, he ended his days without having resigned his usurped dignity.

Henry now began to evince a sincere desire of peace. In a diet at Wurzburg, in September 1121, it was agreed that each party should retain or receive back its own property, that the excommunication of the emperor should be submitted to the pleasure of the pope, and that he should be invited to terminate in a synod the controversy on investitures. With these proposals, the bishop of Spire and the abbot of Fulda went as ambassadors to Rome. But even whilst the negotiation with the pope was begun, Henry showed how he understood his right of investiture, by granting to Gebhard, a youth and a laic, the bishopric of Wurzburg, an event, which, without the interference of the papal legates, would have been followed by another civil war. Calixtus had in the meantime made known in a Roman synod, in 1122, his terms of peace with the emperor, and had devised a means, to which, it is probable, the abbot Godfrey of Vendome, who had addressed to him three letters on the subject, had directed his attention. Lambert bishop of Ostia and the cardinals Saxo and Gregory went as his legates into Germany, and in a great synod at Worms, the long-desired reconciliation was effected in the form of the following concordat. The emperor renounced the right of investiture with the ring and crosier, and conceded that all bishoprics of the empire should be filled by canonical election and free consecration; the election of the German bishops (not of the Italian and Burgundian) should be held in presence of the emperor; the bishops elect should receive investiture, but only of their fiefs and regalia, by

the sceptre in Germany *before*, in Italy and in Burgundy *after*, their consecration ; for these grants they should promise fidelity to the emperor ; contested elections should be decided by the emperor in favour of him who should be considered by the provincial synod to possess the better right. Finally, he should restore to the Roman Church all the possessions and regalia of St. Peter.

This convention secured to the Church many things, and above all, the freedom of ecclesiastical elections. Hitherto, the different Churches had been compelled to give their consent to elections that had been made by the king, but now the king was pledged to consent to the elections made by the Churches ; and although these elections took place in his presence, he could not refuse his consent and investiture without violating the treaty, in which he had promised that for the future elections should be according to the canons. This, and the great difference, that the king, when he gave the ring and crosier, invested the bishop elect with his chief dignity, namely, his bishopric, but now granted him by investiture with the sceptre, only the accessories, namely the regalia, was felt by Lothaire, the successor of Henry, when he required of pope Innocent II the restoration of the right of investiture. Upon one important point, the homage which was to be sworn to the king, the concordat was silent. By not speaking of it, Calixtus seemed to tolerate it, and the Roman see therefore permitted it, although it had been prohibited by Urban and Paschal. It is certain that Calixtus was as fully convinced, as his predecessors, that the condition of vassals, to which bishops and abbots were reduced by their oath of homage, could hardly be reconciled with the nature and dignity of the episcopacy, or with the freedom of the Church, but he perhaps foresaw, that by insisting too strongly upon its discontinuance, he might awaken again the unholy war, and without any hopes of benefit, inflict many evils upon the Church. Sometime later Adrian endeavoured to free the Italian bishops from the homage, instead of which, the emperor was to

be content with an oath of fidelity : but Frederick I would not renounce the homage unless they resigned the regalia. The greatest concession made by the papal see in this concordat, was, that by its silence it appeared to have admitted the former pretensions of the emperors to take a part in the election of the Roman pontiff.

The articles of the concordat were read on the plain near Worms on the 23d of September 1122, before a numerous and rejoicing multitude. The bishop of Ostia celebrated a solemn high mass, and by giving the holy eucharist and the kiss of peace to the emperor and his followers, he received them into the communion of the Church. In the following year the concordat was ratified in the great council of three hundred bishops, the ninth general council of the Church, which was convened by Calixtus in Rome.

END OF VOLUME THE THIRD.



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Dollinger, J. J.

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